

THE LANDS OF
THE SCOTTISH KINGS
IN ENGLAND

MARGARET F. MOORE, M.A.



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THE LANDS OF THE SCOTTISH KINGS IN ENGLAND

THE LANDS OF THE SCOTTISH KINGS IN ENGLAND

THE HONOUR OF HUNTINGDON
THE LIBERTY OF TYNDALE AND
THE HONOUR OF PENRITH

BY

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PREFACE

THIS work was completed during the tenure of a Carnegie Research Fellowship and has been published by aid of a grant from the Carnegie Trust.

The subject of research, connected as it is with Scottish history, is one which appeals naturally to a Scottish student of English manorial history; for although it is well known that the Scottish kings held certain lands in England during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries little attention has been given to the details of these holdings. The personal association of David I and his heirs and of the ill-fated John Balliol with the Honour of Huntingdon, the Liberty of Tyndale and the Honour of Penrith is usually regarded as an incident of feudal tenure, and the sojourn of the Scottish kings on English soil has left no records other than the allowances and establishments of the royal household. But apart from the royal tenants of the kings of England the manorial history of these feudal honours is associated with the names of many notable subtenants by military service or serjeantry. Moreover, the manors themselves, their buildings, cultivation, franchises, customs, religious and social life, form an interesting subject of antiquarian study. The materials for this study have proved to be neither ample nor in any way remarkable. Although the list of holdings is a long one, surprisingly few manorial documents have been preserved and of documents in private hands very few relating to the mediæval period appear to have survived. Nevertheless it is in itself a matter of some interest to ascertain

how much information still exists for two groups of widely scattered manors in a given period.

I wish to express my thanks to Mr. Hubert Hall of the Public Record Office for frequent assistance in the course of my researches and especially to Professor Hume Brown of Edinburgh for his kind interest in my studies and for his generosity in contributing an Introduction to this work. The present lords of several of these manors have courteously given me information as to their muniments or facilities for inspecting the same. Finally I have to express my gratitude to the Hon. W. P. Reeves, Director of the London School of Economics, for the trouble that he has taken in making arrangements for the publication of this work.

INTRODUCTION

IN this book Miss Moore has for the first time told the full and connected history of the lands in England held by the kings of Scotland. She has related how these lands came into the hands of the Scottish kings, the conditions under which they were held, and the various fortunes which attended their retention. The book, it may be said, has a twofold interest. In the four concluding chapters we have an interesting contribution to our knowledge of mediæval social and economic conditions, based on original documents relating to the lands in question. And it has another and a wider interest. The holding of English lands by Scottish kings vitally concerned the political relations of the two kingdoms, and, so far as Scotland was concerned, the persistent effort to retain them constituted during a century and a half her whole foreign policy. A few words may here be said regarding this aspect of Miss Moore's work.

When, in the year 844 Kenneth MacAlpine became ruler of the hitherto distinct peoples, the Picts and the Scots, a great stride was made towards the consolidation of the mainland of Scotland under one head. With Kenneth there began a policy, persistently pursued by his immediate successors, which eventually resulted in the creation of the Kingdom of Scotland as it is known to history. Among the people to the north of the Forth there existed a tradition, the origin of which is unknown, that they had originally been dispossessed of the land to the south of that river. Whatever may have been the foundation for this

tradition, it was the deliberate endeavour of Kenneth and the kings who followed him to add that territory to their dominion. For a century and a half the attempted conquest was systematically carried on, and at length, in 1018, victory was attained. At Carham on the Tweed Malcolm II gained a victory over an army of Northumbrians which definitively attached the district of Lothian to the Kingdom of Scotland. As in the same year Malcolm also became master of Strathclyde, he was now at least nominally ruler of the mainland from the Tweed to the Pentland Firth.

It is at this point in the history of both countries that the relations between England and Scotland begin to assume importance in their respective developments. Both, about the same period, attained national unity under one ruler, and, as rival powers, disputes between the two kingdoms inevitably arose regarding a frontier line. It was the claim of the Scottish kings that, as part of Strathclyde, the territory on the west as far south as the river Eden was rightfully their possession, and, in accordance with the tradition already mentioned, they also laid claim to Northumberland and Durham, with the river Tees as a southern boundary. It was in prosecution of the latter claim that Duncan, the successor of Malcolm II, led an army across the Tweed and laid siege to Durham—an expedition that ended in disaster. The internal troubles during the reign of Duncan's successor, Macbeth, prevented a repetition of the attempt, but in the reign that followed, that of Malcolm III (Canmore), a persistent endeavour was made to attach Northumberland and Durham to the Scottish Crown. Five times Malcolm crossed the Border with fire and sword, and at different periods four castles, Carlisle, Durham, Newcastle and Norham, were built or repaired to check his inroads. But the contemporary English kings, William I and William II, with whom Malcolm had to deal, were rulers well able to defend their territory, and at the time of his death, Malcolm had not only failed to gain possession of Northumber-

land and Durham, but had lost the part of Cumberland which he had held at the commencement of his reign. The internal dissensions that followed the death of Malcolm made impossible any further attempts to extend the limits of the Scottish kingdom, and William II was able even to make good a suzerainty over the district of Lothian.

Such had been the relations of the two countries regarding the disputed territories till the accession of David I in 1124, when they passed into a new phase. By his marriage with Matilda, daughter of the Countess Judith, niece of William I, and Waltheof, Earl of Northumberland, David acquired the Honour of Huntingdon, and, on the strength of the same alliance, he asserted a claim to Waltheof's earldom. The Scottish kings, as we have seen, had previously claimed Northumberland as part of their territory, and, with this claim now reinforced, David and his immediate successors made it their settled policy to become masters of the disputed county. Of their successive attempts to achieve this end, by hostile invasion, by treaty, by availing themselves of the internal troubles of the rival kingdom, Miss Moore has related the detailed history. Be it said that on the issue of the contest depended the future relative importance of the two kingdoms. It was, in truth, a struggle as to whether England or Scotland should be the predominant power in the island. Had Scotland succeeded in securing the northern counties, which by their natural features and the character of their inhabitants are more akin to her than to England, she would have had a fighting power that might have altered the destinies of both. Nor was it improbable that such would be the issue. A succession of kings with the ability and vigour of David, would, at least, have rendered the international conflict more prolonged and more doubtful. As it was, David had no immediate successors of like capacity, and civil dissensions at home crippled them in their efforts to hold the territory he had won. By her eventual

retention of the disputed counties, England was assured of the predominant part in determining the destinies of Britain.

From the foregoing remarks it will be seen that Miss Moore has made an interesting and important contribution to the history both of England and Scotland.

P. HUME BROWN.

behalf of the Empress, taking the castles of Carlisle, Wark-upon-Tweed, Alnwick, Norham and Newcastle :¹ but when Stephen met him at Durham in 1136 and offered him advantageous terms he abandoned the cause of his niece. By the agreement then made, all the castles were restored except Carlisle ; Henry, David's son, did homage to Stephen at York and received the honour of Huntingdon and the castles of Doncaster and Carlisle. Stephen also promised that he would consider Henry's claim to the earldom of Northumberland. The Scottish king thus gained considerable advantages for himself while he avoided taking an oath of allegiance to Stephen, and so was able to make a pretence of fidelity to the Empress.² But the peace soon came to an end, with the visit of Prince Henry to the English court, and the insults offered him by the nobles there. David recalled the prince and refused to allow him to return, in spite of Stephen's repeated invitations.³ There followed invasions of Northumberland, which owing to the disturbed state of England were not ended by the defeat of the Scots at Northallerton in 1138, but continued till 1139, when the two kings again came to terms. Prince Henry was to be invested with the earldom of Northumbria, excepting Newcastle and Bamborough, and, in exchange for these towns, Stephen promised to give cities of equal value in the south of England. The barons who held of the earldom were to do homage to Henry, saving the fealty which they owed to Stephen. King David and Earl Henry were to defend the laws which Henry I had established in Northumbria.⁴ David again took up arms on behalf of the Empress in 1141,⁵ but after the defeat of her supporters at the siege of Winchester in that year he took no further part in the affairs of England until 1149. Then Henry, son of the Empress, met him at Carlisle and received knighthood at his hands, having first taken an oath that if he succeeded to the throne of England he would give David New-

¹ Anderson, *Scottish Annals from English Chronicles*, 170.

² *Ibid.*, 172. ³ *Ibid.*, 173. ⁴ *Ibid.*, 174-215. ⁵ *Ibid.*, 217-20.

castle and all Northumbria.¹ At the same date, Ranulph, Earl of Chester, one of Prince Henry of Scotland's old enemies at the English court, did homage to King David, and it was agreed that he should have the honour of Lancaster instead of Carlisle, which he claimed by hereditary right. The Scottish king accompanied by Henry of Anjou then invaded Lancaster against Stephen, but the Earl of Chester, who had promised to join them, failed to appear. Henry left the country and David returned to Scotland without fighting. He never again invaded England.² In 1152 Prince Henry of Scotland died and David caused Malcolm, his eldest son, to be proclaimed heir to the throne, putting his second son, William, in possession of the earldom of Northumberland.³ The honour of Huntingdon had been seized by Stephen and was granted by him to one of his supporters, Simon de St. Liz, Earl of Northampton.⁴ The latter died in 1153, but although he left a son, Simon, who succeeded to the earldom of Northampton, the honour remained in the hands of the English king.⁵ King David died in 1153, being succeeded by his grandson, Malcolm,⁶ and Henry II ascended the English throne in the following year in succession to Stephen.

Henry soon made his position in England a strong one, while Scotland was torn and distracted under the rule of a minor. Thus Henry was able in 1157 to force Malcolm to give up the rights he claimed in Cumberland and Northumberland. He, however, gave the liberty of Tyndale to Malcolm's younger brother William, and at the same time restored the honour of Huntingdon to the Scottish king. In the same year Malcolm did homage at Chester for his English lands,⁷ and in 1159 he joined Henry in the expedition to Toulouse, during which he

¹ Anderson, *Scottish Annals from English Chronicles*, 221.

² *Ibid.*, 222.

³ Lawrie, *Chronicles of Malcolm and William*, 1.

⁴ Wyckoff, *Feudal Relations*, 62. *Henry of Huntingdon* (Rolls), 288.

⁵ Lawrie, *Malcolm and William*, 9.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 3-4. ⁷ *Ibid.*, 31-2.

received knighthood at the hands of the English king.¹

William the Lion, who succeeded his brother in 1165,² was never reconciled to the loss of Northumberland, of which he had been proclaimed earl in 1152. He followed Henry II on an expedition to France in 1166, but obtained no concessions from him.³ In 1168, therefore, he sent an embassy to Louis of France offering to assist him against the king of England, but in 1169 peace was made between England and France, and William and his brother David did homage to Prince Henry when he was crowned as successor to his father's throne.⁴ In 1171 Prince Henry prepared to rebel against his father and attempted to secure the help of the Scots by offering to restore Northumberland. William thereupon sent an embassy to Henry II in Normandy to demand the restoration of Northumberland,⁵ and on his refusal immediately entered into negotiations with Prince Henry, who granted Northumberland to William and the earldoms of Huntingdon and Cambridge to David his brother. William accepted these terms and invaded England in 1173 and again in 1174. The last invasion ended in his defeat and capture at Alnwick, and to secure his release he had to agree to the English king's terms. These were drawn up and signed on December 1st, 1174, at Falaise in Normandy, whither William had been brought as a prisoner. William became Henry's liege man for Scotland as well as for his other lands. He returned to Scotland by the beginning of the year 1175, and on August 10th he and his brother David and all the nobility of Scotland took the oath of allegiance to Henry and his son⁶ and confirmed the convention of Falaise. During the war the Scottish king and his brother had forfeited their lands in England.⁷ In 1175 William was again in possession of Tyndale,⁸ but Henry had granted the honour of Huntingdon to Simon de St. Liz, the third earl of

¹ Anderson, *Scottish Annals*, 43-4. ² *Ibid.*, 107. ³ *Ibid.*, 112-14.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 116-18.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 124-7.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 130-203.

⁷ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, i, 133.

⁸ *Ibid.*, i, 143.

Northampton, who died in 1185 without issue. In the following year the honour was restored to William, and he granted it to his brother David.¹

Henry II died in 1189, and the succession of his son, Richard I, again altered the relations between the two countries. The new king of England was eager to take part in the Third Crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land. For this reason he needed money and peace at home. He was therefore ready to come to terms with William, and, in December, 1189, restored all his liberties, including his lands in England. Further he absolved him from his allegiance in respect of Scotland in return for ten thousand marks,² while in the following year the honour of Huntingdon was confirmed to Earl David.³ In 1193 King William contributed a thousand marks to ransom Richard from his captivity in Germany on his return from the Crusade.⁴ When Richard returned to England in 1194 William offered fifteen thousand marks of silver for the restoration of Northumberland, and Richard was willing to accept his terms on condition that he should reserve the castles, a condition to which the king of Scotland would not consent, and, therefore, the negotiations fell through.⁵ On John's accession to the English throne in 1199 William renewed his claim to the northern counties⁶ but John steadily refused to restore them. The relations between the two countries were, for another reason, somewhat strained at the beginning of this reign. The English king had begun to build a castle at Tweedmouth to command Berwick, and twice the Scots had destroyed it. The two kings met several times, but could come to no agreement. Preparations were made for war on both sides, but at last William and John met at Norham and signed a treaty of peace. The English king promised that no castle should be erected at Tweedmouth, and William on his

¹ Lawrie, *Malcolm and William*, 255.

² *Ibid.*, 280. *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, i, 196.

³ Lawrie, *Malcolm and William*, 284.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 291.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 297.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 315-16.

side undertook to pay fifteen thousand marks for the goodwill of his powerful neighbour and handed over his two daughters, Margaret and Isabella, to the king of England to be married, after nine years,¹ to his sons Henry and Richard, who were still children.

During the remainder of his life William remained on friendly terms with John. But apparently his brother David, Earl of Huntingdon, sided with the English barons in their resistance to the encroachments of the crown, for in 1212 he was commanded to deliver up the castle of Fotheringay for the king's use. It was restored to him in 1215,² the year after the death of King William, but he was very soon again in arms against King John.³ William's nephew and successor, Alexander II, also joined the barons in 1215, on their offering to restore the northern counties. Thus again civil war in England gave the Scottish king his opportunity. On John's death in the following year, the majority of the English barons returned to their allegiance to the Crown, but Alexander remained in alliance with Louis of France. On the latter's defeat at Lincoln he was compelled to come to terms, and the honour of Huntingdon which Earl David held of him was restored.⁴ But the relations between Alexander II and Henry III were not definitely settled till 1220, when an arrangement was made which guaranteed peace between the two kings for some years. Alexander betrothed himself to Henry's sister, and Henry promised to give in marriage within a year Alexander's two sisters, who had been sent into England to be married at the time of the treaty of Norham or to return them safely to Scotland within a month of that term.⁵ In 1221 Alexander married Henry's sister Joanna, and his own sister Margaret was given in marriage to Hubert de Burgh.⁶ The friendly relations between the two kings continued till the fall of Hubert in 1232, when Henry made a claim to the

¹ Lawrie, *Malcolm and William*, 361-9.

² *Cal. of Docs. rel. to Scotland*, i, 534, 622.

³ *Ibid.*, 639, 641, 645, 652. ⁴ *Ibid.*, i, 686.

⁵ *Ibid.*, i, 761. *Anderson, Scottish Annals*, 335.

⁶ *Ibid.*

overlordship of Scotland and secured the support of the Pope.¹ His claim was rejected and the Scottish king renewed the old claim to the northern counties.² The two kings met in 1236 to discuss their differences, but the settlement was postponed till the following year, when a conference was held at York and Alexander agreed to give up his claim on condition of receiving a grant of two hundred librates of land in Northumberland and Cumberland.³ In 1242 the manors of Langwathby, Salkeld, Scotby, Sowerby and Carlatten and sixty librates of land in Penrith were granted to Alexander in fulfilment of this agreement, to be held by rendering a year-old goshawk yearly at Michaelmas at Carlisle.⁴

This was a final settlement of the Scottish claim to the two northern counties. The Scottish kings now held the liberty of Tyndale and five Cumberland manors, and these lands remained in their possession until the death of Alexander III in 1289, when they were taken into the hand of the English king, owing to the minority of the princess of Norway. Edward I granted their custody to Anthony Bek, Bishop of Durham,⁵ whom he appointed in April, 1290, as his plenipotentiary to treat with Eric, king of Norway, concerning the marriage of Edward, Prince of Wales, with Princess Margaret.⁶ In June of the same year Bek was appointed King Edward's plenipotentiary in the affairs of Scotland.⁷ He had bound himself to pay £400 yearly to certain persons in Norway till Margaret should attain the age of fifteen years, and in recompense the king assigned to him on August 27th the manors of Wark in Tyndale, Penrith, Scotby, Carlatten, Langwathby, Salkeld and Sowerby, which were extended at £368 16s. 8d. yearly.⁸ On August 28th Edward appointed him lieutenant of the young princess of Norway and Prince Edward.⁹ Princess

¹ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, i, 1265, 1277.

² Anderson, *Scottish Annals*, 342-3.

³ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, i, 1358.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i, 1575. ⁵ *Ibid.*, ii, 404. ⁶ *Ibid.*, ii, 420. ⁷ *Ibid.*, ii, 435.

⁸ *Cal. Pat.*, 1281-92, p. 386. ⁹ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, ii, 446.

Margaret died in September, and, on November 15th, John Balliol promised Bek an annual rent of 500 marks in Scotland if King Edward did not confirm the grant of the manor of Wark, the manor of Penrith, and the other manors which Alexander, late king of Scotland, held in Cumberland.¹ The Bishop is said to have urged Edward I to favour Balliol's claim to the throne on the ground that Bruce was too strong a man and might prove dangerous to Edward's schemes.² Balliol succeeded to the Scottish throne in 1292 and had seisin of his English lands in the following year.³ On June 20th, 1294, he granted to Bek fifty librates of land in his liberty of Wark where the bishop or his bailiffs should choose, excepting the town of Wark and the chief messuage there, with the advowson of the church of Simonburn and its chapels in frankalmoign. He also made him a grant of the Cumberland manors for life. These grants were confirmed by the English king on June 25th,⁴ and on July 7th, following, the bishop was given seisin of the advowson of Simonburn together with twenty librates of land in Grindon, £10 rent from Bellingham mill, 106s. 8d. out of the fee farm rent of William of Bellingham in Bellingham, £8 in land in Heseleside in Wark, and 10 marks in land in eleven slate quarries (scalingae) in Werkesvenes and Goseden in Wark.⁵ A year later Balliol made a further grant to the bishop of the manor of Wark, to be held as his ancestors, the kings of Scotland, had held it, in frankalmoign.⁶ When Balliol took up arms against Edward I, Bek entered Scotland with Edward's army at the head of a company of his own men and tenants.⁷ He was appointed ambassador to treat with the Scots and received Balliol's submission after the battle of Dunbar.⁸ Balliol's lands in England had already

¹ Stevenson, *Docts. illustr. the hist. of Scotland*, i, 203-4.

² Fordun, *Annals* (Historians of Scotland), 72.

³ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, ii, 669, 679.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii, 691, 692.

⁵ *Cal. Pat.*, 1327-30, p. 427.

⁶ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, ii, 872.

⁷ *Reg. Pal. Dun.* (Rolls), i, pp. xlv-xlv.

⁸ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, ii, 821.

been taken into the king's hands. On the 20th September, 1296, Wark and all the lands in Tyndale which had been granted to the bishop were handed over to him, and on the 8th February, following, Bek obtained from Edward I a confirmation of Balliol's grant of Wark manor.¹ The bishop, who continued to take an active part in the Scottish wars and was at the battle of Falkirk in 1298,² held Wark on the above terms and also the Cumberland manors until he fell into disfavour with Edward I on account of his refusal to make peace with the Prior of Durham. These lands were then seized by the king along with his temporalities,³ but were not restored with the latter, for a plea concerning them held between the bishop and the king was decided in Edward's favour at Carlisle in 1307, the bishop not appearing, on the ground that Bek had secretly obtained the charter of Wark from Balliol at the time of his surrender and had deceitfully obtained the charter of confirmation from Edward. The Cumberland manors, it was decided, ought to have come into the king's hands on Balliol's forfeiture, because they had been granted to Alexander II, King of Scotland, and his heirs, kings of Scotland, and, therefore, could not be alienated.⁴ The manor of Wark was regranted by Edward II to the bishop for life in 1308,⁵ and on his death it reverted to the king. Succeeding bishops of Durham attempted in vain to regain possession of this estate. In 1315 Bishop Richard sought recovery of fifty librates of land within the franchise of Wark, namely, twenty librates in the manor of Grindon and the remainder in the vill of Bellingham and in the manor of Wark, and the advowson of the church of Simonburn;⁶ and later Bishop Lewis petitioned Edward II for the restoration of the manor of Wark and the advowson of Simonburn.⁷ On May 7th, 1329, Edward III ordered that an enquiry

¹ Stevenson, *Docts.*, ii, 106. *Cal. Pat.*, 1292-1301, pp. 233-4.

² Fordun, *Annals*, 101.

³ Graystones in *Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores Tres*. (Surtees Soc.), 88.

⁴ *Reg. Pal. Dun.* (Rolls), iii, 9-25. *Cole's Docts.* (Rec. Com.), 129-35.

⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1307-13, p. 75. ⁶ *Rolls of Parl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 339.

⁷ *Ibid.*, i, 418b. *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, iii, 898.

should be made into the bishop's claims.¹ The result appears to have been in the king's favour, as the bishop did not obtain possession. During the years 1336 and 1337 a plea in the King's Bench between the bishop and the king regarding the bishop's right to present to the church of Simonburn was postponed several times.² On June 25th, 1338, the king (in fulfilment of a vow which he had made before the battle of Halidon Hill that, in the event of victory, he would found a house of thirteen Black Benedictine monks) granted the advowson to the bishop to endow a house for a prior and twelve monks of the chapter of Durham. This house was to be founded in the suburb of Oxford, with a church and suitable dwellings, within three years.³ In August, following, the bishop received seisin of the advowson of Simonburn,⁴ but he did not retain it long, for in 1342 Richard de Clisseby was instituted in the church on the presentation of Queen Philippa⁵ to whom the advowson with the manor of Wark had been granted by John Darcy, at that time the king's grantee.⁶ Again, in 1346, Bishop Richard petitioned for the advowson and the manor, but did not regain them.⁷ In 1351 Queen Philippa granted the advowson to the king, who assigned it in mortmain to the warden and college of his chapel of Windsor.⁸ The dispute as to the church was settled in 1356, when Edward III granted the prior and convent leave to appropriate the church of Hemingborough in return for the release of their right in the church of Simonburn and the advowson and other concessions.⁹

In 1186 the honour of Huntingdon had been granted by William the Lion to his brother David, who thus became Earl of Huntingdon. Earl David died in 1219¹⁰ and was succeeded by his son John le Scot, a minor. During his minority the custody of the honour was

¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1327-30, p. 427.

² *Reg. Pal. Dun.* (Rolls), iv, 203, 204, 212, 222.

³ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, iii, 1277.

⁴ *Reg. Pal. Dun.* (Rolls), iii, 212-13.

⁵ *Ibid.*, iii, 422-3.

⁶ *Cal. Pat.*, 1330-4, p. 158.

⁷ *Reg. Pal. Dun.* (Rolls), iv., 266-8.

⁸ *Cal. Pat.*, 1350-4, p. 65.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 1354-8, p. 363.

¹⁰ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, i, 724.

given to the king of Scotland, who granted it to Ranulph, Earl of Chester, uncle of the heir.¹ John probably came of age in 1227, when he did homage and had seisin of his lands.² He succeeded his uncle in the earldom of Chester about December, 1232, and died without issue in 1237.³ His heirs were Christiana, wife of William de Fortibus, Earl of Albemarle, and Dervorguilla, wife of John de Balliol, the two daughters of his eldest sister, Margaret, wife of Alan of Galloway,⁴ and his two younger sisters, Isabel, wife of Robert de Bruce, and Ada, wife of Henry de Hastings.⁵ Henry III refused to divide the earldom of Chester and assigned to them other lands in its stead, but the honour of Huntingdon was partitioned among the co-heiresses.⁶ Christiana de Fortibus, Countess of Albemarle, died without issue before 1245-6, and her sister, Dervorguilla de Balliol, inherited her lands.⁷ The Lady Dervorguilla also succeeded to large estates in Galloway and was the founder of Sweetheart Abbey, Dumfries, in memory of her husband, who predeceased her in 1269. She is said to have resided during her widowhood both at Fotheringhay, Northamptonshire, and at Kempston, Bedfordshire.⁸ She died before March 10th, 1289-90, and was succeeded by her son, John Balliol,⁹ who afterwards became king of Scotland. He forfeited his share of the honour with the rest of his lands on his rebellion. All his lands in England were granted by Edward I to his nephew, John of Brittany, Earl of Richmond, in 1306.¹⁰

Isabella de Bruce died before March 9th, 1251-2.¹¹ Her share of the honour passed to her son, Robert de Bruce, the competitor for the Scottish crown,¹² who

¹ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, i, 739, 797. ² *Ibid.*, i, 969.

³ *Ibid.*, i, 1164, 1325. ⁴ *Ibid.*, i, 1375, 1550.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1429, 1430, 1431.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1430, 1449, 1550. *Cal. Pat.*, 1232-47, p. 234.

⁷ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, i, 1686.

⁸ Dumfriesshire and Galloway Nat. Hist. and Antiq. Soc. *Trans* 1863-4, p. 55. *V. C. H. Beds.*, ii, 30.

⁹ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, ii, 410.

¹⁰ *Cal. Pat.*, 1301-7, pp. 470-1.

¹¹ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, i, 1869, 1870. ¹² *Ibid.*, ii, 706.

died before May 3rd, 1294. His heir was his son Robert,¹ who was succeeded in 1304 by his son Robert de Bruce,² afterwards king of Scotland. He too forfeited his English lands when he took up arms against the English king in 1306.³ The overlordship of the lands held of this share of the honour was thereafter retained in the hands of the English king.

The third part of the honour continued to belong to the Hastings family throughout the fourteenth century. John de Hastings, the grandson of Ada de Hastings, was one of the competitors for the Scottish crown in 1291,⁴ but he remained loyal to the English crown through all the disturbances that followed.

¹ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, ii, 826.

² *Ibid.*, ii, 1493.

³ *Ibid.*, ii, 1804.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii, 488.

CHAPTER II

THE MEDIÆVAL ASPECT OF THE LANDS

THE fees held of the honour of Huntingdon were situated for the most part on the low lands of the valleys of the Ouse, the Nen, the Welland, the Glen, the Witham and the Soar, or their tributaries; also on the uplands of Northampton, Leicester, Rutland and south-west Lincoln. The Ouse rises in the north of Buckinghamshire and flows through Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire and Cambridgeshire. Most of the manors in these counties held of the honour are near it or its tributaries, and it passes through the lands of the manors of Felmersham, Harrold and Kempston, Bedfordshire, and Eynesbury, Offord Darcy, Great Paxton and Toseland, Huntingdonshire. The Nen flows through the eastern part of Northamptonshire, and the Welland rises in the west of the same county and forms the boundary between Rutland and Northamptonshire. The Witham rises in the north of Rutland, passing near Thistleton before it enters Lincoln. The Soar is a Leicestershire river. The manor of Tottenham in Middlesex, which is isolated and at a considerable distance from any of the other lands of the honour, is situated on very low-lying land on the river Lea.

The rivers mentioned, with the exception of the Soar and the Lea, were fenland rivers, but most of the lands held of the honour and situated in their basins are not now within the fens. In the Middle Ages Sawtrey, Conington and Caldecote, Huntingdonshire, were in the fen district, Fulbourne and the fens of Over in Cambridgeshire are mentioned in an account

of the fens in 1605,¹ and in 1580-81 twenty acres of marsh in Great Stukeley, a little north of Huntingdon, were conveyed by fine.² The extent of the fens, however, was probably much greater in the Middle Ages than the references to marshlands in the extents and accounts of the manors would lead us to suppose. The rivers which flow through these low-lying lands are liable to overflow and flood the surrounding lands, and in those days of imperfect drainage there must have been much marshy land in the manors which were situated on or near the river banks. But the extents and accounts were drawn up chiefly to give information concerning the profits of the lord, and where no profits were to be obtained from the marshland it would not be mentioned.

We have a good deal of information concerning the marshland of the neighbouring vills of Sawtrey and Conington connected with disputes between the monks of Sawtrey and the monks of Ramsey and others concerning boundaries, the extent of fishing rights, and the making of trenches in the marsh. The marsh afforded pasturage for the beasts of the vill to which it pertained. Profit could be obtained from the cutting of turf and from fisheries where there were any, and the lord was sometimes able to reclaim land. In 1279 the Prior of Huntingdon and William Waldesef claimed the right to take yearly in Conington 16,000 and 10,000 turves respectively,³ and in 1346 Robert, son of Simon de Conington, enjoyed a rent of 20,000 turves acquired for life from John de Bruce.⁴ By 1279 two acres of meadow in Conington and fifteen acres in Sawtrey had been reclaimed from the marsh.⁵

The manor and marsh of Sawtrey belonged to the Cistercian abbey of Sawtrey, founded about the middle of the twelfth century.⁶ The monks soon began to make use of the marsh by digging trenches or "lodes"

¹ Dugdale, *History of Imbanking*, 383.

² *Cal. of Hunts Fines* (Cambridge Antiq. Soc.), 178.

³ *Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), ii, 652.

⁴ *Cal. Pat.*, 1345-8, p. 199.

⁵ *Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), ii, 652, 663.

⁶ See p. 37.

by which building materials and provisions could be carried to the abbey and which at the same time would serve for the purpose of drainage and render the pastures in the marsh more profitable. They had a quarry at Barnack in Northamptonshire, and, in order that they might carry stones from there to the abbey for the purpose of building their church, William, Abbot of Ramsey, gave them permission, between 1161 and 1177, to make a trench in the marsh from the abbey to Whittlesea Mere.¹ The construction of this "lode" and other unauthorized "lodes" gave opportunities to the fishermen of Sawtrey of trespassing on the fisheries in the marsh of the Abbey of Ramsey, and these trespasses and damage done by the beasts of the monks of Sawtrey on the Ramsey pasture lands gave rise to a dispute between the two abbeys. It was settled in 1192. All the "lodes" made by the monks of Sawtrey in the marsh were to be stopped up except that between Sawtrey and Whittlesea Mere, and no others were to be made. The only building to be allowed on the "lode" was a rest-house in which those who carried the stone could rest, but no trees were to be planted there nor was any curtilage to be made. The fishermen of Sawtrey were to be restrained from entering the marsh of Ramsey Abbey to fish and the monks of Sawtrey were to keep their beasts from the meadows of the tenants of the Abbey of Ramsey, and to see that they did no damage to the nets of the fishermen of Ramsey which were suspended near the marshes of Ubbesmere and Whittlesea Mere.² In 1242 the Abbot of Sawtrey had permission to make a trench through the middle of his wood of Sawtrey for the security of those crossing,³ and in 1279 two "lodes" are mentioned in the marsh of Sawtrey, the Monks' Lode and the New Lode. It was then the duty of the Abbot of Sawtrey to make two bridges across the Monks' Lode over which the men of Conington had

¹ V. C. H. *Northants*, ii, 294. *Cart. Mon. Rames* (Rolls), iii, 223, ii, 275.

² *Ibid.*, ii, 347-8.

³ *Cal. Close*, 1237-42, p. 458.

the right to drive their beasts to pasture.¹ At a later date the monks of Sawtrey appear to have set less value upon Monks' Lode than they did in the days when they were eager to build the church of their monastery. They neglected to keep it clear, and for that reason, especially in dry seasons, it became too narrow. It was further obstructed by the men of Conington, who made causeways over which men, horses and carts could cross. In 1342 a commission of enquiry was appointed, which found that the Abbot of Sawtrey ought to clean and widen the "lode" and that the men of Conington should remove the causeways.²

The fisheries of Sawtrey have been mentioned in the above account. Every landowner had the right, by virtue of possession, to fish in any part of a river or lake or other water which might be within his land. Thus many lords had fisheries in the ponds of their watermills (stagna) or the moats around their manors, and many had fishponds (vivaria) in their demesnes or their parks. If a river flowed between two manors each lord had, as a rule, the right to fish on his own side to the middle of the stream, or they might have common right of fishery in the whole stream.³ In the case of fisheries in a marsh, which, perhaps, had to be divided among several manors, the boundaries had to be fixed with the greatest care, and on the foundation of Sawtrey Abbey the extent of the marsh pertaining to the vill was redefined by the order of Earl Simon. It extended into Whittlesea Mere, where a fishery had been granted to the Abbot. The extent of his fishery was measured as follows: a man was to go on foot into the water as far as he could and then push forward a boat (avironatum) eight feet long with all his strength, and the fishery extended to forty feet beyond the distance to which it floated.⁴ In 1279 this fishery was in the hands of Richard of Cornwall, who had forcibly taken possession of it when his brother, King

¹ *Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), ii, 654.

² *Cal. Pat.*, 1340-3, p. 552. *Cart. Mon. de Rames* (Rolls), i, 177-8.

³ See Moore, S. A. and H., *History and Law of Fisheries*.

⁴ *Cart. Mon. de Rames* (Rolls), i, 161.

Henry, gave him the manor of Glatton; but apparently it was afterwards restored to the abbot, for, in 1392, it was found by an inquisition taken at Glatton that the abbot held a piece of meadow in the marsh consisting of two acres and a fishery in Whittlesea Mere containing one "dreshote," of the grant of the ancestors of the lord of Glatton, for which he owed no suit of court to the court of the lord of Glatton. He also held a "coteplace" and two pools in the said "coteplace" lying next Monks' Lode within the demesne aforesaid and he did no suit of court or any other service at the manor of Glatton.¹ The abbot also had in 1279 a fishery in Blakemere in the marsh of Walton, a fishery in the pools near Whittlesea Mere, and a fishery in the moat around the abbey.²

The lands held of the honour of Huntingdon were fairly well wooded, and many of the manors lay within the bounds of the king's forest. Up to the end of the thirteenth century the forest of Huntingdon included nearly all the honour lands in that county. Tenants in Northamptonshire had lands within the bounds of the forest of Rockingham and Salcey. The forest districts of the south of Northamptonshire extended into Buckinghamshire, and the forest of Rutland included the southern half of that county and the adjacent part of Leicestershire.

The forest districts were not necessarily wooded over their whole area. They were tracts of land where the beasts of the forest were preserved—the red deer, the fallow deer, the roe and the wild boar. The tenants could not hunt in them without the king's licence or cut down trees or underwood except for fuel and for the repair of their property, and they had to keep a woodward or private forester who was sworn to protect the king's venison and to attach trespassers against the law of the forest in their lands.³ In some forest districts in the Middle Ages there was a greater

¹ Add. Ch. (B.M.) 33273.

² *Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), ii, 663.

³ Turner, *Select Pleas*, p. xxiv-xxv.

extent of open moor and heath than of wood. This appears to have been the case with the forest of Rutland.¹ In Huntingdon there were demesne woods in the manors of Caldecote, Sawtrey, Beachampstead, Diddington, Great Stukeley and Toseland, all of which were at one time within the forest district. They must have been afforested by one of the Norman kings, and, like much other forest land in Huntingdon and elsewhere, disafforested temporarily during Stephen's reign. When Henry II came to the throne the forest district of Huntingdon included only his "haiae" of Weybridge, Sappele and Hertheye, which were formerly his demesne woods. After his coronation Henry afforested all the lands which had been within the forest district before the civil wars of Stephen's reign and also some districts which had never been forest before. Among the lands afforested by him were all the other woods and groves of Huntingdonshire.² The discontent caused by the afforestations of Henry II and his successors, Richard and John, resulted in the forest charter of Henry III in 1217. By its terms the woods which had been afforested by Richard and John were to be disafforested at once, but the woods which Henry II had afforested were to be viewed and only those were to be disafforested which had been afforested to the damage of their owners.³ The result of the perambulations then made was that much land that was in the royal forest before the civil wars of Stephen's reign was disafforested, and when Henry III came of age the perambulations were revised. In consequence of this revision all the lands reafforested by Henry II were allowed to remain in the forest.⁴ The woods of Huntingdon were within the forest during the thirteenth century. A perambulation of the forest of Huntingdon was made in 1244 and the boundaries

¹ V. C. H. *Rutland*, i, 251.

² *Cart. Mon. de Rames* (Rolls), ii., 300, 303.

³ Turner, *Select Pleas* (Selden Soc.), pp. xciii-iv.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. ci.

passed the vills of Toseland, Abbotsley, Little Barford (on the borders of Huntingdon and Bedford), Great Stoughton (within which was the manor of Beachampstead), and Conington.¹ On May 11th, 1247, a buck was taken at Diddington by Roger le Despenser, William of Lincoln, and Roger, the hunter of the venerable Father R., formerly Bishop of Lincoln. An inquisition was held, but the poachers escaped before they could be taken and were outlawed.² Among the townships of the forest summoned to attend inquisitions on forest offences during the thirteenth century were Great Stukeley, Offord Darcy, Paxton and Toseland.³ The discontent of the tenants who held lands in the forest again came to a head at the end of the thirteenth century, and Edward I had to make concessions. A perambulation of Huntingdon Forest was made in 1299, and it was found that Henry II had afforested certain woods and groves in Huntingdonshire to the great loss of their lords. Among these were the lords of Great Stukeley, Sawtrey, Caldecote, Hardwick, Beachampstead and Diddington.⁴ These woods were therefore disafforested, and in the next century the lords obtained the profit from the sale of the underwood.⁵

In Northamptonshire the lords of Fotheringhay and Great Oakley had woods within the king's forest of Rockingham. The wood of Fotheringhay was sixty acres in extent, and was in the Cliffe division of the forest.⁶ As early as 1169, when Simon fitz Piers rendered his account for the aid to marry the king's daughter, Fotheringhay, the king of Scotland's, accounted for twenty shillings for a workshop made in the forest.⁷ The lord of the manor of Preston Deanery had a foreign wood there called Arnho, through which he had common in the forest of Salcey and pannage.⁸

¹ *Cart. Mon. de Rames.* (Rolls), i, 195.

² Turner, *Select Pleas*, 22.

³ *Ibid.*, 13, 15.

⁴ *Cart. Mon. de Rames.* (Rolls), ii, 303-6. Add. Ch. (B.M.) 33141.

⁵ Ch. Inq. P.M. Edw. III, 136 (14), 23 (16), 28 (6); Edw. I 57 (9); Edw. II, 82 (9).

⁶ *Ibid.*, Edw. I, 57 (1).

⁷ *Cal. Docts. rel. to Scotland*, i, 118.

⁸ *Cal. Inq. P.M.* Edw. I, ii, 69.

In an extent of Harringworth of 1273 a foreign wood was included which could be sold without view of the foresters, but could not be assarted because it was common to the neighbourhood;¹ but in February, 1299-1300, the wood is described as a foreign wood in the king's forest of which nothing can be received except by livery of the foresters of the king.² The lords of Yardley Hastings had a chase or private forest there and underwoods at Barton and Dodding-ton, and at Brayfield there was a wood in the chase of Yardley.³ Ashby Mears, Bozeat, Little Houghton and Wilby were wooded.⁴ The townships of Boughton, Braybrook, Holcot, Rushton, Slipton and Wadenhoe were summoned to forest inquisitions in the thirteenth century.⁵

In the forest of Rutland the tenant of the honour manor of Glaston had a wood called "Brendes."⁶ The manors of Exton, Ryhall and Tickencote were wooded. Allexton and Brooksby in Leicestershire were within the forest, and Owston, where there was a park, was on the boundary of the forest in 1269.⁷

Allexton was near the border of Leicester and Rutland. It was the manor of the family of de Neville, hereditary wardens of the forest of Rutland. Part of it was held of the Templars and part of the Bakepus family, who held of the honour of Huntingdon.⁸ Henry I is said to have granted the custody of the forest to Hasculf of Allexton, whose son, Peter, married the niece of Ives de Neville, son of Alan de Neville. Their son, Hasculf de Neville, succeeded to the custody of the forest, and his son was the extortionate Peter de Neville⁹ against whom many charges were made at the Pleas of the Forest held at Oakham in 1269. Amongst

¹ Ch. Inq. P.M. Edw. I, 2 (7). ² E. Inq. P.M. Ser. I, 5 (10).

³ Ch. Inq. P.M., Edw. I, 17 (5).

⁴ *Cal. Inq. P. M.*, Edw. II, vi, 588; Edw. I, ii, 781; iii, 576. Ch. Inq. P.M., Edw. III, 44 (6).

⁵ Turner, *Select Pleas*, pp. 28, 31, 87, 88, 89, 90, 97.

⁶ Ch. Inq. P.M., Edw. II, 100 (9).

⁷ *Cal. Inq. P. M.*, Edw. III, vii, 271, 300. Ch. Inq. P.M., Hen. III, 14 (10). *Cal. Docts. rel. to Scotland*, i, 114.

⁸ *Cal. Inq. P. M.*, Edw. II, vi, 17; v, 412.

⁹ Turner, *Select Pleas*, 45-6.

other things he was accused of having built a gaol at Allexton full of water at the bottom, where he imprisoned many whom he had taken both lawfully and unlawfully, although offenders against the forest law in Rutland ought to have been imprisoned in the castle of Oakham. He had also delivered many of his prisoners at his pleasure and without warrant.¹ Although he was convicted of the charges made against him, he was not then deprived of the custody of the forest, to which his son Theobald succeeded in the year 1300.²

In Bedfordshire, where there was no royal forest, there were woods in the manors of Harrold, Houghton Conquest, Kempston, Sudbury, Sutton and Potton.³ At Little Paunton in Lincolnshire there was a park containing forty acres of wood and there was also a park at North Witham.⁴

The liberty of Tyndale is situated in the highlands of the south-west of Northumberland. It extends southward for a short distance into Cumberland, where is the parish of Alston, and includes most of the district between the North and South Tyne, and the South Tyne and its tributary the Allendale. Besides the Allendale several other small streams which water the liberty flow into the Tyne. Haltwhistle burn joins the South Tyne near Haltwhistle. Flowing into the North Tyne are Simon burn, Wark burn and Chirdon burn from the south and Tarsset burn from the north. The Haltwhistle burn rises in Greenlea Lough. This was the Wigglesmere of the thirteenth century, half of which, "towards the north part as the crooked burn enters the head of Wigglesmere directly westward to the head of Hautwyselburne," was granted in 1285 to Sir William Swinburne by Sir John Comyn

¹ Turner, *Select Pleas*, 52.

² Peter de Neville was again accused of trespasses in the forest in 1273. He died soon after and the custody of the forest was granted to Ralph Mallore. *Cal. Close*, 1272-9, p. 6. *Cal. Pat.*, 1292-1301, p. 533.

³ *Ch. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. I, 83 (8); Edw. II, 82 (9); Edw. III, 38 (26), 44 (6). *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. I, ii, 771. *Mins. Accts. (D. of L.)*, 2/4.

⁴ *Ch. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. I, 57 (9); Edw. II, 100 (9).

of Badenoch.¹ It was in the Forest of Lowes, a waste containing several other small lakes and pertaining to the manor of Henshaw. Near these lakes is Grindon Lough, which was in the king of Scotland's manor of Grindon. The South Tyne passes Alston, Kirkhaugh, Knaresdale, Bellister, Coanwood, Haltwhistle, Plainmellor, Melkridge, Ridley, Henshaw and Newbrough. Thirlwall is north-west of Haltwhistle on the river Tipalt, and Staworth is on the Allendale near the barony of Langley. A little south-east of Newbrough the South Tyne is joined by the North Tyne, on the banks of which are Walwick, Humshaugh, Haughton, Simonburn, Wark, Bellingham and Tarsset. To-day a ferry crosses the North Tyne from Haughton to Barrasford, and in the thirteenth century an agreement was made between William Swinburne, lord of Chollerton, and Ranulph of Haughton respecting a ferry boat to cross the Tyne from a field called Seburhalv in the manor of Haughton to one called Scothalyv in the manor of Chollerton. The cost was to be shared and they and their men were to have free ingress and egress through their lands of Chollerton and Haughton to the boat.² Robert de Insula, the lord of Chipchase, had a stank (stagnum) upon the water of Wark in 1286-7 for which he paid sixpence to the lord of the manor of Wark.³ In 1279 the same Robert had been distrained to show by what warrant he claimed a boat on the Tyne.⁴ The fishing here was carefully regulated for the preservation of the fish and a close season had been instituted. In 1279 Alexander, the miller of Wark, Richard and Gilbert, the millers of Evelingham, John, son of John of Nithesdale, and Robert Homel were amerced for fishing in fence time. In the same year Robert Graunger and William Bene were attached for fishing in Hugh de Grindon's lake without his leave by order of William, the "terrarius" of Hexham, and the Prior of Hexham was distrained to produce his canon to answer.⁵

¹ Hodgson, *Northumberland*, III, i, 19.

² *Ibid.*, III, i, 1-2.

³ Palgrave, *Documents*, i, 9.

⁴ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, ii, 168.

⁵ *Ibid.*

In the north and south of the liberty where the valleys of the Tyne are narrow the country is wild, mountainous and barren, but where the river valleys broaden the land is more fertile and the river banks, though steep and in places rocky, are generally well wooded. In the Middle Ages the extent of arable land was small in comparison with that of the southern and midland counties. The dwellers in the district had, like the other people of their time, to be self-supporting, and sufficient land had to be cultivated to supply their needs; but the district was largely pastoral and the people chiefly engaged in pastoral pursuits, so that no part of it was thickly populated. Meadow, pasture, moor and heath bulk largely in mediæval grants, and the rearing of sheep, horses and cattle was carried on extensively during times of peace. Thus the pasture rights pertaining to the holdings in the open fields were of great importance and of much greater extent here than in the agricultural parts of the country. In the early grants and other documents pastoral rights were carefully described. For instance, the monks of Hexham had pasture through Alston Moor for themselves and their tenants for forty cows, ten mares and a hundred sheep with their young by reason of the demesne lands there, and for twenty-four cows and sixty ewes with their young of three years by reason of the cottages.¹ They had also a toft in Gerard's Gill and pasture for ten cows, two mares and their young of two years, free ingress, transit and exit through the whole fee of Alston to Presdale and common through the whole pasture of Alston Moor with all the beasts from Presdale every day from sunrise to sunset. All this was of the grant of Ivo de Vipont.² At Thirlwall they had common of pasture within the whole fee for eighty avers and as many mares, and if there were fewer mares the number was to be made up from other beasts with their young of two and a half years, and eighty pigs and forty goats with their

¹ *Hexham Priory* (Surtees Soc.), ii, 20.

² *Ibid.*, 21. *Cal. Ch. R.*, i, 171.

young of one year.¹ The men of one township frequently had the right to common of pasture in another, and this gave rise to many disputes, as is shown in the roll of pleas held in 1279. In that year a dispute between William de Bellingham and the Abbot of Jedburgh was settled. The abbot demanded that William should repair his hays of Heselaside because the avers and men of the abbot's freehold in Evelingham entered William's hays and were daily taken and imparked to the abbot's damage of twenty pounds. William, on his part, claimed to have common pasture for two work-mares with their young of two years old in the parks of Evelingham. William agreed to keep his fences in repair by special boundaries, and eight good men of the district were to make a view yearly in Whitsun week and order what was necessary. The abbot was to have common pasture for his avers of Evelingham all the year round, and in the hays during open time, the avers lying at night on the east side of Strikeliscleythe. William also remitted to the abbot and his successors all his right to an annual rent of thirteen bolls of meal and four shillings of silver and the above-mentioned pasture, while the abbot quit-claimed to William and his heirs his right of common grazing for forty mares and their young of two years in Bellingham, Wardlaw and Grenacres, saving his right of grazing in the same vills for forty cows and their young of a year old, as in the charter of Alan, son of Dolfyn, William's grandfather, to the church of the Blessed Mary of Jedburgh and the Canons.²

The tenants of William Swinburn's manor of Staworth had free common within the manor of Langley, the capital of Nicholas de Boltby's barony of South Tyndale, by gift of the ancestors of Philippa, daughter of Adam de Tyndale and wife of Nicholas de Boltby. William claimed the "solum" of the common to himself and his men and was supported in 1271-2 by Alexander III, who asserted that the "solum" of the

¹ *Hexham Priory* (Surtees Soc.), ii, 19.

² *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, ii, 52, 53.

common was not in Langley but in Staworth in his liberty. A perambulation was agreed to.¹

We find from the grants and extents of the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries that slate-quarries and "hopes" were common on all the manors and were of considerable value for pasturage to their owners in time of peace. But the plunderings and burnings of the Scots in the fourteenth century made the whole district practically valueless during the periods following their inroads, the buildings and crops being destroyed and the cattle driven off.

There was a considerable amount of forest land in the liberty which was of value for pasture as well as for underwood and timber for buildings and repairs. Here, of course, the Scottish kings had the same rights as the kings of England in the royal forests. They had their hereditary foresters of the family of Bellingham, who held two-thirds of the manor of Bellingham by service of being the king of Scotland's foresters in Tyndale Forest.² In the northern part of the parish of Henshaw was a tract of land known as the Huntland, because, it is said, it abounded in deer and was therefore set apart for hunting.³ Occasionally, the Scottish kings made small grants of land there. In 1177 William the Lion granted four slate-quarries to Reginald Prat of Tyndale wherever he pleased in the Huntland to occupy as meadow, pasture or arable,⁴ and Alexander III gave lands in the Huntland to Hugh, son of Gilbert de Grindon, in exchange for the manor of Grindon.⁵ The profits arising to the lord of Wark from the agistment of the Huntland were accounted for in 1278-9.⁶ The park of Wark was kept well stocked with deer. In 1290 Anthony Bek, Bishop of Durham, who was then keeper of the liberty, took twenty-seven bucks there and they were conveyed thence to Westminster, sixty-four shillings being paid for the carriage.⁷ The

¹ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, i, 2627.

³ Hodgson, *Northumberland*, II, iii, 326.

⁶ *Rolls of Parl. (Rec. Com.)*, i, 203a.

⁸ Stevenson, *Documents*, i, 37, 60.

² *Ibid.*, ii, 168.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

herbage of the park was sold annually, and profits were obtained from the agistment of cattle.¹ In 1306 the herbage of the park of Tyndale was found to consist in the profit of agistment, which amounted to £4 6s. 8d., saving sufficient sustenance for the wild beasts in the park. This was granted in the same year to Robert de Cottingham, along with the wardship of the park during the king's pleasure, and in 1307 the grant was renewed.² The chase of Tyndale belonged to the Comyns, but on August 10th, 1291, Edward I commanded Anthony, Bishop of Durham, the keeper of his land of Tyndale, to give to Walter de Routbury two bucks and four does in the chase of Tyndale by the king's gift,³ and in 1306 John de Swynburn was commanded by the king to take twelve stags there for the household expenses and send the venison with all haste.⁴ There were also parks at Henshaw, Tasset, Walwick and Bellister.⁵ In 1279 John de Redepeth was accused of having broken into the park of Bellister and having hunted there, but was acquitted, Bellister being then in the hands of the king of Scotland.⁶ The lord of the manor of Wark had the profits of the sale of underwood there.⁷ John de Swynburn had a grant from Alexander III of reasonable estovers in all the woods of Wark and in Tyndale at John's manor of Haughton.⁸

The Cumberland manors are north-west of the lakes in a well-watered district. Penrith, the furthest south, is on the river Eamont, which rises in Ulleswater and falls into the Eden, on which are situated Langwathby and Salkeld, west of, and near to, Penrith, and Scotby near Carlisle. Carlatten, which is also close to Carlisle, is on the river Petteril, and Castle Sowerby is north-west of Penrith and west of Salkeld. Near

¹ Stevenson, *Documents*, p. 1 *et passim*.

² *Rolls of Parl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 211a. *Cal. Pat.*, 1301-07, p. 519.

³ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, ii, 510.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii, 1831.

⁵ *Ibid.*, iii, 979. *Cal. Close*, 1330-33, p. 51. *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. III, vii, 252. *Mins. Accts.* 950/14.

⁶ *Proc. of Arch. Inst.*, Newcastle, 1852, ii, p. xlii.

⁷ *Mins. Accts.* 952/11. ⁸ *Rolls of Parl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 194a.

it are the Caldew river and its tributary the Roe beck.

In the fourteenth century there were two bridges across the Eamont south of Penrith on the London road and one across the Eden between Salkeld and Langwathby, all of which were supported by the alms and bequests of the inhabitants. They were then known as Amotbrig, the bridge of Lowther and the bridge of Salkeld.¹ In 1383 a complaint was made by the tenants of Penrith that a stream leading to their town had been polluted by tanners, and a commission was appointed to make an inquiry into the matter.² Perhaps this was the reason why Bishop Strickland, their frequent benefactor, provided the town with water by having a water-course drawn from the river Petteril.³

The rivers were apparently well stocked with fish and the fishery of Scotby in the Eden was farmed in the fourteenth century.⁴ The bishops of Carlisle had a stank in the water of the Eden near here and were accustomed to take fish by means of baskets made with rods. Bishop Ralph Ireton (Bishop of Carlisle from 1282 to 1292) tried to improve his property, apparently with little regard to the rights of his neighbours. He raised an engine called a "bayne" in the stream in the middle of the stank for the taking of fish, and when the Eden carried away the dry land on the side of Scotby which was the king's soil he followed up with his stank to the dry land as his predecessors did. The more the stank was amended the more the fisheries deteriorated. The bishops also hindered the tenants of Scotby from fishing in the Eden, where they had the right to fish unless excluded by the king's special deed.⁵ In 1386 William de Strickland, Bishop of Carlisle from 1400 to 1420, was pardoned for acquiring in fee from John, Duke of Brittany (who held the manor by the king's grant),

¹ The last is now called Langwathby Bridge.—*Testamenta Karleolensia* (Cumberland and Westmorland Antiq. Soc.), pp. 28, 64-5, 143.

² *Cal. Pat.*, 1381-5, p. 255.

³ Nicholson and Burn, *Cumberland*, ii, 404.

⁴ *Mins. Accts.* 824/34-5. ⁵ *Cal. Misc. Inq.*, 1551 (in preparation).

thirty-two acres of waste in Penrith, Sowerby and Scotby and a fishery in the waters of Eden and Eamont (Amot).¹

In the Middle Ages the manors were situated within the royal forest of Inglewood—a district which included tillage, pasturage, moor, marsh and woodland. They, therefore, came under forest law, but certain privileges, including common of pasture in parts of the forest and the right to take wood for repairs and building and dig turf for burning, had been granted to the tenants when the manors were given to Alexander II.² They suffered considerably from the destruction of their crops by the deer—an inconvenience which had to be borne by all who held land in the royal forests, as the deer were strictly preserved for the king's hunting. But in this case, to the losses caused by the deer were added heavier losses caused by the inroads of the Scots, and in 1363 some compensation was given to the tenants of Penrith, Salkeld and Sowerby by a royal grant of common pasture for all animals in the forest of Inglewood for ever.³

¹ *Cal. Pat.*, 1385-9, p. 237.

² See p. 61.

³ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, iv, 85.

CHAPTER III

THE FEUDAL HISTORY OF THE HOLDINGS

THE honour of Huntingdon consisted of a number of manors and holdings scattered over the eight neighbouring counties of Huntingdon, Cambridge, Bedford, Buckingham, Northampton, Lincoln, Leicester and Rutland, and of the manor of Tottenham, Middlesex. Some of these manors were held by the earls of Huntingdon and their successors in demesne, but the majority of them were held by under-tenants who owed suit at the court of the honour.

The first earls of the Scottish line had the borough and castle of Huntingdon.¹ King David and his son, Earl Henry, dated charters there in the first part of the twelfth century,² and the castle was held by the second Earl David in 1173,³ when the young King Henry was in arms against his father. There is no further reference to the castle, which is said to have been destroyed by Henry II owing to the disputes for its possession between Earl David and Earl Simon de St. Liz, to whom the honour was given after its forfeiture by Earl David for the part he took in the rebellion.⁴ Yardley Hastings, Northamptonshire, where there was a park and free chase,⁵ was one of Earl David's residences before he ascended the Scottish throne,⁶ and other demesne manors were Fotheringhay, whose castle was the stronghold of the earls after the destruction of Huntingdon Castle,⁷ Kempston (Bed-

¹ Anderson, *Scottish Annals*, 172. Lawrie, *Malcolm and William*, 36.

² Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, pp. 51, 87, 139.

³ Anderson, *Scottish Annals*, 247.

⁴ Dugdale, *Baronage*, i, 59.

⁵ *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. II, vi, 612.

⁶ Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, 312.

⁷ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, i, 462.

fordshire), Tottenham (Middlesex), Conington (Huntingdon), Exton (Rutland),¹ and Harringworth (Northampton), which was granted by John le Scot about 1232 to William de Cantilupe, the younger.² Later, it came to the family of Zouche through Milisanda, wife of Eudo la Zouche and one of the heirs of George de Cantilupe, and was held by them of the Hastings overlordship.³ Kempston and Tottenham were the dower manors of the countesses of Huntingdon. Matilda, wife of the second Earl David, held them after the death of her husband in 1219,⁴ and in 1237-8 they, with Conington and Exton, were delivered to Eleanor, widow of John le Scot, who had married Robert de Quency.⁵

Among the early tenants of the honour were men who held an important position in the royal service or as landholders in both kingdoms. Henry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, the son of Humphrey de Bohun and Margaret, sister of William the Lion, was one of these. In 1204-5 he held the overlordship of Ryhall, Rutland, and of twenty knights' fees in Rutland, Lincoln and Northampton, and in 1210 these were adjudged to him by right of his mother, who had them in the time of Richard I.⁶ The twenty knights' fees included Glaston and Seyton (Rutland), and Great and Little Paunton (Lincoln), which the earls of Hereford, hereditary constables of England, continued to hold during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries of the Hastings family, their sub-tenants during that time being a family called Panton, who were succeeded by the Harringtons.⁷ Another manor in Ryhall was held at an early date by Reginald de Dammartin, Count of Boulogne. He also had Kendal's manor in Wrestlingworth, Bedfordshire, and Beachampstead, Hunt-

¹ *Cal. Chart. R.*, i, 156. ² *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, i, 1396.

³ *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. I, ii, 17, iii, 568; Edw. II, v, 412, vi, 612. *Plac. de Quo War.* (Rec. Com.), 529.

⁴ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, i, 728.

⁵ *Ibid.*, i, 1396. *Cal. Close*, 1234-7, p. 467.

⁶ Madox, *Exchequer*, i., 488, *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), 69. G. E. C. *Peerage*. D. N. B.

⁷ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 310. *Cal. Inq. P.M.* Edw. II, vi, 719.

ingdonshire, by grant of Simon, Earl of Northampton,¹ to Odo de Dammartin, his uncle, and Aubrey, his father. Reginald forfeited his English lands about 1203 by joining Philip against John, whom he had formerly supported. They were restored, however, in 1212, when Reginald again transferred his allegiance to John. Reginald was taken prisoner at the battle of Bouvines and remained a prisoner till his death.² In 1227 Ryhall was granted to Hugh Despencer and his heirs³ and the Despenchers continued to hold it till, on the forfeiture of Hugh le Despencer, Earl of Winchester, it was granted to Edmund, Earl of Kent, in 1327.⁴

The de Morvilles, hereditary constables of Scotland and advisers of the Scottish kings, held in demesne the manors of Whissendine and Whitewell (Rutland), Bozeat (Northamptonshire), Offord (Huntingdon), and Houghton (Bedford).⁵ Helena, the daughter of Richard de Morville, who died without male heirs in 1189, married Rolland, lord of Galloway, who succeeded to the office of constable, and it was their son, Alan of Galloway, who married Margaret, daughter of the second earl, David, and mother of Dervorguilla de Balliol.⁶ Other early tenants were the de Quincies, earls of Winchester, who held Eynesbury and two carucates of land in Southoe Weston,⁷ the lords of Daventry, descendants of Matilda, daughter of Simon de St. Liz, Earl of Northampton, and Ranulph de Sules of Doddington, Northamptonshire, who accompanied King David to Scotland and held the office of *Pincerna Regis* there at the beginning of the reign of William the Lion.⁸

On the partition of the honour among the coheirs of John le Scot the dower manors of Kempston and

¹ Add. Ch., II, 233.

² Round, *Peerage Studies*, 177-9.

³ *Cal. Chart. R.*, i, 57.

⁴ *Ibid.*, iv, 4.

⁵ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, i, 294. *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), 79, 80.

⁶ *D. N. B.*

⁷ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, i, 2366, 2569. Their descendants, the Ferrers and the Zouches of Ashby, later held this property of the Balliol family. *Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), ii, 669. *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. II, v, 458. *Cal. Inq. P.M.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 241.

⁸ Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, 309.

Tottenham were divided,¹ the rent of the borough of Huntingdon was assigned to the Bruces and Balliols,² Yardley Hastings to the Hastings,³ Fotheringhay to the Balliols,⁴ and Conington and Exton to the Bruces, who received the greater number of the fees in Huntingdon and Cambridge.⁵ Conington and Exton were subinfeoffed to a junior member of the family, Bernard Bruce, and were held by him and his successors during the remainder of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁶ Another member of the Bruce family, William Bruce of Caldecote, held of Robert Bruce in Huntingdonshire in the thirteenth century. His fees were Catworth, Molesworth and Caldecote in Normancross hundred.⁷ The Greys of Harrold held the manor of Toseland and land in Hemmingford Abbots in the fourteenth century,⁸ and the Tothale family held in Toseland, in Caldecote in Eynesbury parish and a manor called Tothalbury in Eynesbury.⁹ The de Quincies, who held Eynesbury manor, held of Robert Bruce another manor called Puttock's Hardwick in Eynesbury parish,¹⁰ but it afterwards came into possession of the Molesworth family.¹¹ The Bruces also had the overlordship in Huntingdonshire of a knight's fee in Offord Darcy, held by the Daneys family, a half fee in Little Paxton, a half fee in Bouton and Barford and a holding in Beachampstead;¹² in Cambridgeshire, a half knight's fee in the town of Cambridge held by the Dunnings, a half knight's fee in Fulburn held by the Beauchamps¹³ and tenements in Over and Oaking-

¹ *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Hen. III, i, 312. *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, i, 1952, 1953.

² *Ibid.*, iii, 1195. *Cal. Close*, 1288-96, p. 176.

³ *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. II, v, 412, vi, 612.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Edw. I, ii, 771. *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, i, 2460.

⁵ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), pp. 354, 356.

⁶ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, i, 2419, ii, 180. *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. II, vi, 172.

⁷ *Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), ii, 632, 636.

⁸ *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. II, v, 53, vi, 517.

⁹ *Ibid.*, v, 548. *Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), ii, 670.

¹⁰ Cott. MS. Faust. A., IV, f. 89a. See p. 31.

¹¹ *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. II, v, 548, vi, 166.

¹² *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 354, 356. *Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), ii, 667.

¹³ *Testa de Nevill*, 356.

ton.¹ In Bedfordshire their tenants were the family of Sudbury in the manor of Sudbury² and the Latimers of Corby, who held the manor of Sutton with its dependents, Potton Regis, Stratton, Holme and Hereford's manor in Wrestlingworth. In Buckinghamshire one-fifth of a knight's fee in Great Crawley was also held as of the manor of Sutton.³ The Bruces held a considerable number of fees in Leicestershire. Fees in Ashby Folville, Sproxton, Sysonby and Welby were held of Isabella de Bruce in the thirteenth century⁴ and in the fourteenth century the Folvilles held two knights' fees in Ashby Folville and Neubold Folville, the Brabazons held Saxby and Sproxton, and the Burdetts held Brooksby, Loseby, Sysonby, Welby and Rearsby.⁵ The Dysneys also held Evington and Oadby of the honour,⁶ and in Lincolnshire they had Norton and Stapleford through the Bassetts.⁷ In Lincoln also the Bruces had a knight's fee in Basingham held under them by the de Staunton family and a half knight's fee in Coleby held by a family called Cuppeldik.⁸ In Northamptonshire the fees of Isabella de Bruce in the thirteenth century were Great and Little Harrowden, Clipston, Broughton and Edgcott held by the Lukenors under the Huntercombes, Great Oxendon held by John de Sproxton, and East Farndon held by John de Vallibus.⁹

But the Hastings family held the greatest extent of land in Northampton. John Hastings was described as holding the liberty of Huntingdon in Northamptonshire in 1284.¹⁰ His demesne manor of Yardley Hastings was in the south-eastern part of the county, and round about this manor were scattered many of the estates held of this overlordship. Their most considerable tenants were the Prestons and the Grimbalds,

¹ *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. II, v, 548. ² *Cal. Close*, 1313-18, p. 255.

³ *Feud. Aids*, i, 3, 4, 19. *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. II, vi, 37; Edw. III, vii, 689.

⁴ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 97.

⁵ *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. II, v, 190, 548. ⁶ *Mins. Accts.* 1095/4.

⁷ *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. II, v, 548.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 24-5. *Feud. Aids*, iv, 1, 2, 444.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, iv, 6.

who were tenants of the Countess Judith in 1086 in Northamptonshire, Rutland and Leicester.¹ In the thirteenth and fourteenth century the Prestons held the manors of Preston Deanery, Quinton and Wotton² and lands in Pidington, Hackleton, Horton, Thorpe, Cransley, Hannington, and Boughton,³ and the Grimbalds held the manors of Little Houghton, Brayfield, Multon and Hardwick and land in Horton and Newton.⁴ The Zouches of Harringworth also held in Brayfield and Little Houghton as well as in Denton.⁵ Ashby Castle and Grendon were held of the Hastings overlordship in the early fourteenth century by Walter Langton, Bishop of Chester. He granted them for life to Robert Peverel and his wife Alice, with reversion to their son, Edmund. Robert Peverel predeceased the Bishop, and his son Edmund succeeded to his manor of Potton Much Manured, which was held of the Claverings, who held of the Hastings. Alice re-married Thomas Verdon, and together they held Ashby and Grendon. Thomas Verdon also held Hothorpe and Scaldwell of the Hastings.⁶ A third manor in Potton was Potton Burdetts, which was held of the Hastings by the Burdetts in the early years of Edward I. In 1290-1 William Burdett granted this manor to William Latimer and it was held during the fourteenth century by the Latimers of Corby.⁷ The Greys held the manor of Harrold by service of two knights' fees and suit at the court of Earl's Barton. The Prior of St. John of Jerusalem held of them half a knight's fee in Piddington, Northampton, as of the manor of Harrold, and Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, also held a half knight's fee as of the same manor.⁸

¹ V. C. H. *Northants*, i, 352. *Ibid.*, *Leicester*, i, 334.

² Another manor of Wotton was held by the Hastings of the fee of Wahull.—*Feud. Aids*, iv, 5, 42.

³ *Ibid.*, 7. *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. II, v, 412, vi, 612.

⁴ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 26. *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. II, vi, 612.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, Edw. II, v, 412, vi, 330, 612. *Plac. de Quo War.* (Rec. Com.), 542. *Feud. Aids*, iv, 447.

⁷ *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), 225. *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. II, vi, 612.

See p. 33.

⁸ *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. II, vi, 517. *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 25.

In Brayfield next Lavendon, Buckingham, three and three-quarter virgates of land were apportioned to the manor of Harrold.¹ Fees were also held of the Hastings in Buckinghamshire in Crawley, Broughton and Petsoe.² In Huntingdon the only manor of the Hastings overlordship was that of Diddington, held by the Grimbalds, who also had of the same overlordship, Tickencote and Horne in Rutland and North Witham, Twyford and Swayfield in Lincoln.³

Among the fees assigned to Christina de Fortibus, Countess of Albemarle, and Dervorguilla de Balliol in Northamptonshire were Thorp, Lilford, Sprotton, Wilby, Great Oakley, Ashley and Wollaston. In the fourteenth century the Latimers of Braybrooke held in Northamptonshire the manor of Braybrooke and rents of free tenants in Little Bowdon rendered to the manor of Braybrooke. They also held in Leicestershire thirty-two shillings rent from free tenants in Foxton and twenty-six shillings and eightpence rent from free tenants in Gumley.⁴ The Brabazons also held land in Gumley of the Balliols by service of suit at the court of Foxton twice yearly,⁵ and other tenants held of them in Cosby, Oadby and Willoughby Waterless.⁶

In Huntingdonshire the Balliols had tenants holding under them in Abbotsley, Great and Little Paxton and Great Stukeley⁷ as well as in Eynesbury and Huntingdon.⁸ In Cambridgeshire they had the overlordship of a half knight's fee in Great Childerley and the advowson of the church, and a hide and a half in Oakington.⁹ In Rutland their fees were Bisbrook, Whissendine and "Sondersokene," and, in Buckingham, Lavendon and Weston Underwood, and they also had tenants in Great Crawley and Petsoe.¹⁰

¹ *Ibid.*, 244. *Feud. Aids*, i, 105.

² *Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), ii, 685. *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Hen. III, i, 275. *Cal. Inq. P.M.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 340. For other fees held by the Grimbalds, see p. 34. ³ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 25-6.

⁴ *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. III, vii, 623. ⁵ *Ibid.*, Edw. II, vi, 82.

⁶ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 92. *Feud. Aids*, iii, 101. *Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), i, 239.

⁷ *Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), ii, 672, 673, 686, 598. ⁸ See pp. 31, 32.

⁹ *Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), ii, 408, 449. *Feud. Aids*, i, 138.

¹⁰ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 244, 251, 252. *Cal. Ch. R.*, iii, 121.

Some religious houses were founded and endowed by the early holders of the honour and their tenants. The Countess Judith founded the Abbey of Elstow, a house of Benedictine nuns, and in 1086 that abbey held of her grant Elstow near Bedford, Wilshampstead and part of Maulden.¹ At a later date the abbey had also five virgates of land and a mill in Kempston,² and claimed the rent of the third penny of Bedford by grant of King Malcolm—a claim which was successfully disputed by the mayor and bailiffs of that town. The advowsons of the churches of Elstow, Wilshampstead, Maulden, Kempston and Haringworth were in the gift of the abbey.³

The Priory of St. Andrew, Northampton, was founded between 1124 and 1130 by Simon de St. Liz, the first earl, who was buried in the Priory church.⁴ King David confirmed to the monks all the lands which they held as his vassals when he became king of Scotland. These were the manor of Stutsbury, two carucates of land in Hackleton and land in Hardingstone, the church of Brayfield with a virgate of land pertaining to it and two cartloads of dead wood in the wood of Yardley, all granted by Earl Simon and the Countess Matilda.⁵ The countess also granted them forty shillings from the rent of Bedford which was afterwards exchanged for the same sum from the rent of Huntingdon. King David granted the church of Potton and confirmed the gift of Robert Fitz Violi of a mill and a carucate of land in Scalford, with permission to the monks to break up and sow at Exton the land called Williges.⁶ The priory also had land in Standeford,⁷ Potton, Oakley, Wellingborough and Newton, the mills of Hardingstone, Holcote and Paxton,⁸ and the churches of Ryhall, Exton, Whissendine,

¹ V. C. H. *Beds.*, i, 256-7.

² *Plac. de Quo War.* (Rec. Com.), p. 12.

³ V. C. H. *Beds.*, i, 353, 354, 357.

⁴ V. C. H. *Northants.*, ii, 102.

⁵ V. C. H. *Northants.*, i, 344a. Dugdale, *Mon. Angl. V.*, 190.

⁶ Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, 50, 51, 52, 58, 88, 311, 320, 353.

⁷ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 92.

⁸ *Cal. Chart. R.*, iv, 118-20.

Newton, Multon, Brayfield, Preston, Horton, Quinton, Hardingstone, Stutsbury and Potton.¹

The Priory of St. Augustine, Daventry, was founded about 1090 by Hugh of Leicester, sheriff of Northampton, a vassal of Earl Simon, with the permission of the earl. Hugh granted to the priory the mill of Everton. The site of the buildings was given by Earl Simon and demesne lands adjoining it by his daughter, Matilda, and her husband, Saher de Quincy. After her husband's death Matilda granted the church of Daventry the three mills of Daventry and woodland for repairing the convent's plough. Her grants were confirmed by her first husband, Walter Fitz-Robert, who also granted to the priory the right of one day's fishing in his fish-pond before the feast of St. Augustine, a thousand herrings, ten waggon-loads of wood and twenty-four bundles of kindling for the use of the sacrist in preparing the wafers.² The priory also had a grant from Robert Fitz Violi of the churches of the barony of Foxton, including the churches of Foxton, Scalford, Bisbrook, Braybrook, Gumley and Lubbenham.³ Simon de St. Liz, the younger, founded the abbey of Delapr , a house of Cluniac nuns, and the abbey of Sawtrey, a convent of Cistercian monks.⁴ Earl Simon granted to the nuns of Delapr  lands in Hardingstone and the churches of Barton, Great Doddington and Fotheringhay. By the grant of David, brother of the king of Scotland, they had the liberty of having a cart to pick up firewood in the wood of Yardley, from John Balliol they and their tenants had exemption from doing suit at the court of Fotheringhay, and the church of Wollaston was confirmed to them by Edward III.⁵ On the foundation of the abbey of Sawtrey, Earl Simon, the younger, endowed it with the church of Sawtrey and all his lands in Sawtrey including his fisheries towards Whittlesea Mere,⁶ and his grant was confirmed by Malcolm IV and his

¹ V. C. H. *Northants*, ii, 102. ² *Ibid.*, ii, 109-10.

³ *Ibid.* Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, 320-1.

⁴ V. C. H. *Northants*, ii, 114. Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* V, 521-2.

⁵ V. C. H. *Northants*, ii, 114.

⁶ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* V, 522.

brother, Earl David.¹ In 1228 the Abbot of Sawtrey claimed against John, Earl of Chester and Huntingdon, eight virgates of land in Conington, near Sawtrey, which had been bequeathed to him by Earl David. Earl John denied his father's power to leave the land by will,² but the decision appears to have been in favour of the abbot, as in 1286 the Abbot of Sawtrey had eleven tenants in Conington over whom he claimed to have the right of view of frankpledge.³

The Abbey of Owston, a house of Austin Canons, was founded in the time of Henry I by Robert Grimbold, one of the justices of England, who endowed the abbey with the vill and church of Owston.⁴ Owston was afterwards held by the abbey of the Hastings overlordship.⁵

The Priory of Harrold, Bedfordshire, a house of Austin Canons, was founded and endowed probably between 1140 and 1150 by Sampson le Fort, a tenant of the honour. He granted to the priory the churches of Harrold and Brayfield with their appurtenances and a few acres of land.⁶

Earl Simon and Countess Matilda granted to the Priory of St. Neots the church of Eynesbury and a virgate of land in Beachampstead.⁷ The priory also held of the honour twenty shillings rent from a mill in Huntingdon granted by Earl Henry, forty shillings rent of the mill of Paxton,⁸ and possessions in Abbotsley, Caldecote, Offord Darcy and Puttock's Hardwick.⁹ The priory did not retain possession of the church of Eynesbury, which was ceded in 1204 to Saher de Quincy, lord of the manor.¹⁰

The Priory of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, received the church of Tottenham from King David about 1132,¹¹ and the second Earl David granted them a rent charge which they were accustomed to pay to him for lands

¹ Cott. Ch., xii, 78, xv, 21. ² *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, i, 1000.

³ *Plac. de Quo War.* (Rec. Com.), 300.

⁴ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.*, vi, 424. ⁵ *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. II, v, 412.

⁶ V. C. H. *Beds.* i, 387. ⁷ Cott. MS. Faust. A, iv, f. 67b.

⁸ Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, 87, 352.

⁹ Gorham, *Eynesbury*. ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 74.

¹¹ Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, 78, 339.

in the same vill.¹ The Abbey of Wardon had Clifton, Bedfordshire, by grant of Peter Cokerel in 1204² and the field of Mulsho in Stert in the hundred of Toseland, Huntingdon, by gift of Mariot de Wylebi. Both grants were confirmed by Robert Bruce.³ In 1235 the grange of Braybrook was held by the Abbey of Pipewell,⁴ and in the fourteenth century the abbey held of the Hastings in Braybrook and Little Bowdon.⁵ The scholars of Merton held in Over, Cambridge, of the Bruces.⁶ William the Lion granted the site of their church to the nuns of St. James outside Huntingdon (Hinchinbrook Priory) and Earl David gave them the meadow of Turriss and two virgates of land in Great Stukeley.⁷ The Abbey of St. James, outside Northampton, acquired the church of Bozeat from the canons of Dryburgh in Scotland, to whom it had been given by Beatrix de Bello Campo, the founder of Dryburgh Abbey, with her husband, Hugh de Morville.⁸ The abbey also held two virgates of land in Horton, Northamptonshire, of the Hastings in the thirteenth century.⁹ Richard de Morville granted to the Templars a hundred and twenty-three acres of land in Whissendine outside the enclosed park,¹⁰ and they and their successors, the Hospitallers, held in South Witham, Frisby and Whitewell in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.¹¹ The Hospitallers also held in Thorpe and Piddington, Northamptonshire, and Harrold, Bedfordshire, of the Greys, who held of the Hastings.¹² The monks of Gareldon held in Welby, Sysonby and Scalford of the Bruce overlordship.¹³

There were several early grants to Scottish houses. Earl David founded the Abbey of Selkirk in Scotland

¹ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, i, 603.

² Feet of Fines, Beds, 6 John, No. 2. Cott. MS. Nero C, iii, f. 230.

³ *Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), ii, 686. ⁴ *Cal. Chant. R.*, i, 206.

⁵ *Feud. Aids*, iv, 10. *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. II, vi, 609.

⁶ *Ibid.*, v, 548.

⁷ Add. Ch., 33595, 33596.

⁸ Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, 178, 422. Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.*, vii, 1152.

⁹ *Feud. Aids*, iv, 7. ¹⁰ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, i, 576.

¹¹ *Feud. Aids*, iii, 211; iv, 208. *Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), i, 238. *Chanc. Misc.*, No. 833.

¹² *Feud. Aids*, iv, 7. *Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), ii, 329. *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. II, vi, 517.

¹³ *Cal. Ch. R.*, iv, 474.

about 1120. Among the lands with which he endowed it were, in Hardingstone, near Northampton, twenty-four acres of land in demesne with meadows and one "maisura" pertaining to the demesne, two oxherds, each having ten acres, six and a half virgates of land, six "maisuræ" towards the bridge of Northampton and an island of meadow next the bridge and the mill.¹ He also gave a hundred shillings from Hardingstone to the church of Glasgow² and ten librates of land to the Abbey of Kelso, which were exchanged afterwards for "Treuenlene."³ The monastery of Jedworth, founded by King David, had a grant of ten pounds from him in Hardingstone, afterwards exchanged for Rule Hervei, now called Abbot-rule, grants of the churches of Barton and Grendon from Malcolm IV, of the church of Doddington-next-Barton from Ranulf de Sules and the church of Abbotsley from Gervase and Ralph Ridel.⁴ The advowson of Great Paxton was granted to the abbot and convent of Holyrood before 1155,⁵ and in 1231-2 it was the subject of a fine between the abbot and John, Earl of Huntingdon.⁶

In Cumberland the Scottish kings kept all their manors in their own hands in accordance with the grant of Henry III, but in Tyndale all the lands were in the hands of tenants except Wark, Grindon and the church of Simonburn. Wark was the chief manor of the liberty. It is situated on the North Tyne, south of Bellingham and Tarsset and north of Simonburn. Here was the king of Scotland's prison and here the assizes for the liberty were held. All the tenants in chief in Tyndale rendered their services at Wark. Grindon, with its lake, which is considerably south of Wark and Simonburn, was originally held of the kings of Scotland by the Grindon family in drengage. Hugh, son of Gilbert de Grindon, alienated the manor to Alexander III in exchange for lands in the Huntland.⁷ Wark and Grindon with the advowson of Simonburn

¹ Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, 27. ² *Ibid.*, 41-2. ³ *Ibid.*, 158.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 408. ⁵ Cambs and Hunts Arch. Soc., *Trans.*, ii, 33.

⁶ *Cal. Hunts Fines*, 15.

⁷ *Rolls of Parl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 203a.

were the demesne lands of the lord of the liberty. They were for a time in possession of Anthony Bek, Bishop of Durham, in consequence of John Balliol's grant, but were resumed by Edward I.¹

A branch of the important Scottish family of Comyn held extensive lands in Tyndale from the early part of the twelfth century onwards. David, king of Scotland, and his son, Earl Henry, granted to Richard Comyn and his wife, Hextilda, daughter of Huctred, son of Waldef, her father's heritage of Wallwick, Thornton, Stonecroft and Henshaw.² Wallwick, Thornton and Stonecroft are in the parish of Wardon, which lies in the corner of land formed by the junction of the North Tyne with the South Tyne, and Henshaw is in the neighbouring parish of Haltwhistle. At the end of the thirteenth century the Comyns also held Tarsset manor and its castle,³ which John Comyn had licence to crenellate in January, 1267-8.⁴ Under-tenants held land of the Comyns of their manors of Tarsset, Thornton and Henshaw. In 1302 Adam de Charlton held Charlton manor of the manor of Tarsset by service of one-twentieth of a knight's fee,⁵ and Adam de Swinburn of Simonburn held Espleywood and Lusburn of the manor of Tarsset, a shieling at Bradley in Henshaw of the manor of Henshaw and a bondage in Stonecroft of the manor of Thornton.⁶ From an early date the Prats of Knaresdale held the manor of Knaresdale and other lands in the liberty. The earliest member of the family of whom any record has survived was Reginald Prat of Tyndale, who married the daughter of

¹ See p. 8. ² *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, i, 2287. ³ *Ibid.*, ii, 963.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i, 2463. All these manors were held by knight service and suit at the court of Wark.—*Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. II, vi, 697. The extent of Tarsset included bondages in Charlton and a hamlet called Greenstead. In Thornton were a town called Newborough together with hamlets called Wharnley, "le Syde" and Hauden. Stonecroft also was in the manor of Thornton.—(*Ibid.*) With Henshaw was included the forest of Lowes, a waste in which were many small lakes, shielings in the Huntlands in the northern part of the township and shielings in Thorngraston.—(*Ibid.*, vi, 759.) Newborough was probably founded by William Comyn, son of Richard and Hextilda, after Henry III had granted him a market in Thornton in 1221.—*Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, i, 809. Hodgson, *Northumberland*, III, ii, 307.

⁵ *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. I, iv, 166. ⁶ *Ibid.*, Edw. II, vi, 751.

Ranulph, son of Huctred, and acquired in free marriage one-third of the vill of Haughton and four shielings in the Huntland. These lands were confirmed to him in 1177 (and, later, to his son John) by William the Lion with exemption from drengage service for Haughton.¹ The Prats continued to hold Knaresdale for many generations, but the lands of Haughton and the Huntland were alienated less than a century later by Reginald Prat, who was probably a grandson of the first Reginald, to a member of the Northumberland family of Swinburne, William, son of John Swinburne of West Swinburne. Apparently he was in financial difficulties, for he obtained from William Swinburne a loan of three marks in silver to be repaid after the feast of St. Martin, 1251.² In 1256 he bound himself to appear personally in Tyndale before the Purification of the Blessed Mary to put William Swinburne in possession of his lands in Haughton and the Huntland and six mercates of land in the fee of Knaresdale. Ultimately William received one-third of the manor of Haughton, all Reginald's lands in the Huntland, the manor of Williamston in the fee of Knaresdale and the lands in the inclosures of Slagingford. All were to be held of the manor of Knaresdale and William was to pay two pairs of gilt spurs or two shillings to Reginald and a year-old sparrowhawk to the king at Wark.³ The grant was confirmed by Alexander III on June 24th, 1257, and again in 1267.⁴ William Swinburne was then in the service of Queen Margaret of Scotland, daughter of Henry III. In 1259 he was her treasurer,⁵ and in 1268 he was granted freedom from sheriff's tourns so long as he continued in her service.⁶ Henry III made him a grant of land in 1269 for his services to his daughter, whose bailiff he then was.⁷ In 1273 he was bailiff in Tyndale,⁸ but in the same year Alexander III freed him from all such services, and at

¹ Hodgson, *Northumberland*, III, i, 2-4.

² *Ibid.*, 8. ³ *Ibid.*, 10-12. ⁴ *Ibid.*, 12-13, 14. ⁵ *Ibid.*, III, ii, 20.

⁶ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, i, 2495.

⁷ *Ibid.*, i, 2535. Hodgson, *Northumberland*, III, ii, 21.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 22.

the same time granted him at Queen Margaret's request Haughton Strother with the adjoining lordships between Haughton and Nunwick in free forest with vert and venison.¹ Nevertheless he was the king of Scotland's bailiff in 1278.² In 1271-2 William Swinburne held the vill of Staworth in Tyndale in heritage.³ He also held lands in Tyndale of the Comyns—a shieling in Greenley and a moiety of Wigglesmere.⁴ The Prats forfeited Knaresdale during the wars of Scottish independence, and in 1315 it was granted to Robert Swinburne, younger son of John Swinburne of East Swinburne, who had taken an active part in these wars on the English side.⁵ At his death, which took place before February 15th, 1325-6, Robert Swinburne was seized of the manor of Knaresdale held of the king in chief as of the manor of Wark by service of a half knight's fee, and the manor of Chirdene with the hamlet of Snabothalgh held of the king in chief as of the manor of Wark by service of a half knight's fee and rendering a sore sparrowhawk yearly.⁶

John Swinburne, father of Robert, also held in Tyndale of the manor of Wark another manor of Haughton and the manor of Humshaugh.⁷ Adam, the elder son of John Swinburne, succeeded to his lands.⁸ He had earlier, about 1291, acquired Simonburn in free marriage⁹ with Idonea, sister of Henry Graham,¹⁰ and he died seized of these manors with divers outlying tenements all of which were held of the barony of Wark by various services, of the manors of Lusburn and Espleywood with various tenements

¹ Hodgson, *Northumberland*, III, ii, 23, i, 16-17.

² *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, ii, 146.

³ *Ibid.*, i, 2627.

⁴ Hodgson, *Northumberland*, III, i, 19.

⁵ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, iii, 432, 464, 1045.

⁶ *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. II, vi, 693.

⁷ *Plac. de Quo War.* (Rec. Com.), 592.

⁸ *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. II, vi, 164.

⁹ Lands granted in free marriage were lands granted to a daughter or sister on her marriage and were held by the parties to the marriage and the heirs of their bodies free from all service except fealty until the fourth degree.

¹⁰ Hodgson, *Northumberland*, II, ii, 232, 250.

all held of the heirs of the Comyns, and two bondages in Shilington held of Adam of Shilington.¹

The Viponts held the manors of Alston in Cumberland near the border of Northumberland, and Kirkhaugh and Elrington in Northumberland by grant of William the Lion.² Alston was held of the manor of Wark by service of doing suit at the court of Wark every three weeks.³ The manor did not include the mine of Alston, which was always retained by the kings of England. Kirkhaugh was subinfeoffed by Nicholas de Vipont in 1258 to William of Kirkhaugh⁴ whose successors continued to hold it of the Viponts. Nicholas de Vipont was bailiff of Tyndale from 1264-6.⁵

The family of Ros of Wark upon Tweed and Hamelake held the manors of Bellister and Plenmellor,⁶ and the family of Ros of Yolton had Haltwhistle with Coanwood.⁷ Robert de Ros of Hamelake had married Isabel, illegitimate daughter of William the Lion,⁸ and he probably received his lands in Tyndale then.

Many small pieces of land and pasture rights in the liberty were held by the monks of St. Andrew's, Hexham. They had Carrow in Stonecroft, near the Roman Wall, by gift of Richard Comyn and his wife, Hextilda,⁹ rents of the mill of Ellrington by gift of Nicholas de Vipont, lands, tenements and pasture in Stonecroft, Grindon, Henshaw, Thirlwall, Knaresdale, Whitlaw, Whitfield, Alston and Gerard's Gill.¹⁰

The majority of the tenants in chief in Tyndale took part in the Scottish wars on one side or the other. John Comyn, Adam Swinburne and Robert de Ros of Hamelake supported John Balliol when he took up

¹ He held Simonburn with tenements in Nunwick by homage, fealty and suit of court, Haughton and Humshaugh by service of a sore (year-old) sparrowhawk. Espleywood and Lusburn he held of the manor of Tarsset, a shieling in Bradley of the manor of Henshaw, a bondage in Stonecroft of the manor of Thornton.—*Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. II, vi, 164, 751.

² *Plac. de Quo War.* (Rec. Com.), 197.

³ *Cal. Fine R.*, ii, 245.

⁴ Hodgson, *Northumberland*, II, iii, 59.

⁵ *Exchequer Rolls, Scotland*, i, 23, 25.

⁶ *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. II, v, 396.

⁷ *Cal. Chart. R.*, iii, 88.

⁸ *G. E. C. Peerage.*

⁹ *Hexham Priory* (Surtees Soc.), ii, 84-5.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, ii, 15-21.

arms against Edward I and forfeited their land in consequence.¹ Comyn was at first a competitor for the Scottish crown, but he withdrew his claim, having married Balliol's sister.² Eventually, however, on July 10th, 1296, he swore fealty to the English king,³ and in September of the same year he and his wife and family were living in England at the king's command.⁴ His lands were restored to him on July 30th, 1297. His son John, "the Red Comyn," was one of the leaders of the Scottish army which invaded Cumberland in 1296, when he was taken prisoner at Dunbar and was sent to the Tower of London.⁵ On July 30th in the following year he was set free, having delivered his son as a hostage, and his English lands were restored.⁶ Nevertheless Comyn remained true to the Scottish cause and after the defeat of Wallace at Falkirk he was appointed in 1299 one of the guardians of Scotland.⁷ He again submitted to Edward at Stratford in February, 1303-4,⁸ from which date he acted in the interests of the English king. Two years later he was slain by Bruce. His son, John, then a hostage in England, succeeded to his English lands.⁹ Henceforth the descendants of the family of Comyn of Tyndale took part in Scottish history only as friends of the English kings. John Comyn fell at Bannockburn on the English side, leaving no children, and his nephew, David of Strathbogie, Earl of Atholl, who succeeded to a moiety of the Comyn estate in Tyndale, invaded Scotland with Edward, son of John Balliol, during the minority of David II, in an attempt to win back his Scottish lands.¹⁰

Adam Swinburne is described as having ridden with the Scots with banners displayed, plundering and burning in Northumberland and Cumberland, especially the Priory of Hexham.¹¹ His lands in Tyndale were seized

¹ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, iv, 1770; ii, p. 175, 963, 1335; iv, 2, 1835.

² Paul, *Scottish Peerage*.

³ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, ii, 765.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii, 839.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ii, 742.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ii, 940. *Rotuli Scotiæ* (Rec. Com.), i, 43b.

⁷ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, ii., 1978. ⁸ *Ibid.*, ii, 1741. ⁹ *Ibid.*, ii, 1746.

¹⁰ Fordun, *Annals*, 147. *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, iii, 1094.

¹¹ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, iv, 2.

by Anthony, Bishop of Durham,¹ and he was captured and imprisoned at Berwick. He was set at liberty in May, 1297, and afterwards entered the service of the English king, taking part in his Scottish campaigns.² His lands suffered greatly at the hands of the Scots, and in June, 1315, he had a grant of fifty marks from the king in relief of his necessities.³ He was sheriff of Northumberland in the same year. He appears to have again joined the Scots and to have taken part in the rebellion of Gilbert of Middleton,⁴ and for this reason his lands were again in the king's hand after his death in 1318. He had a son, Henry, who survived him, but does not appear to have had seizin of his lands, and three daughters.⁵ Henry died some time before December 13th, 1327, when a second inquisition on the holding of Adam Swinburne was made. His heirs were found to be his daughter Barnaba, and his grandsons Gerard de Widdrington, son of his daughter Christian, and William Heron, son of his daughter Elizabeth.⁶ Barnaba had been an adherent of the Scots and had lived in Scotland in the household of Robert Bruce. She afterwards married Sir John Stirling who was in the service of the English king, and together they enjoyed her purparty of Adam Swinburne's lands. The escheator of Northumberland once again took possession of them, giving as his reason Barnaba's and her father's adherence to the Scots. They were, however, restored by Edward III on February 21st, 1357-8 for John Stirling's good service,⁷ and the lands of William Heron and Gerard de Widdrington, which had also been taken into the king's hand on account of the acts of their grandfather, were restored on the 20th December following.⁸

The lands of Robert de Ros of Wark were granted by Anthony Bek, Bishop of Durham, in 1297, to Brian,

¹ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, ii, 963.

² *Ibid.*, ii, 1183; iv, pp. 389, 392.

³ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, iii, 437.

⁴ *Ibid.*, iv, 2.

⁵ *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. II, vi, 164, 751.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 751.

⁷ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, iv, 2, 4.

⁸ *Cal. of Pat.* 1358-61, pp. 140-1.

son of Alan and Matilda his wife. They held the manors of Plenmellor and Bellister about 1302, when Margaret, widow of Robert de Ros, petitioned for their restoration as her dower,¹ but in 1307 they were granted to Robert de Bures for life.² In 1313 an extent and partition of the manors was made on petition of John Salveyn and John de Knoches and Margaret and Isabel their wives, the daughters and heirs of Robert de Ros, but when the escheator attempted to give them seizin of their lands he was resisted by force, the king's writs were taken from him and he was not able to execute the king's orders.³ In 1339 the bishop's grant to Brian, son of Alan, was confirmed.⁴ Gerard Salveyn, son of John and Margaret recovered the manor of Bellister from the heirs of Brian and the king confirmed it to him in 1348.⁵ But the king later recovered the manor against Gerard Salveyn and in 1355 he granted it to Queen Philippa, who then held the liberty.⁶

The other branches of the Swinburne family who held lands in Tyndale and the Viponts of Alston chose the English side in the wars with Scotland. Sir Robert Swinburne of Knaresdale took an active part in the Scottish campaigns on the English side⁷ and in 1322 he was sent with Master John de Hildesle, clerk, to survey all the munitions of men at arms at the king's wages, the stock of victuals and other things in the castles and towns of Cumberland and Westmoreland and in the liberty of Tyndale.⁸ Nicholas de Vipont of Alston was one of the Scots who swore fealty to Edward I at Berwick on August 28th, 1296, after the submission and deposition of Balliol,⁹ and his descendants served on the English side during the rest of the Scottish wars.¹⁰

¹ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, ii, 1339. ² *Cal. of Pat.* 1301-7, p. 515.

³ *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. II, v, 396. ⁴ *Cal. of Pat.*, 1338-40, p. 323.

⁵ *Cal. of Pat.*, 1348-50, p. 221. ⁶ *Ibid.*, 1354-8, p. 327.

⁷ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, iii, 432, 464, 1045.

⁸ *Cal. of Pat.* 1321-4, p. 220.

⁹ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, ii, 816.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, iii, 278.

CHAPTER IV

THE MANORIAL FRANCHISES

THE earls of Huntingdon and their tenants held certain franchises by grant of the kings of England which were confirmed by a charter of Henry III to John le Scot. They had sac, soc, toll and team, infangenthef and outfangenthef. They were exempt from doing suit at the hundred and county courts, from the payment of toll, sheriffs' aids and other money payments. They had certain liberties touching the forest and were exempt from works of castles, bridges, causeways, etc.¹ In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries many of the tenants of the honour claimed view of frankpledge and other royal liberties by virtue of this charter. These claims were invariably questioned by the king's officer on the ground that there was no specific grant of view of frankpledge contained in the charter, but they were generally allowed on the plea of long seisin. Most of the tenants had to pay a fine for the misuse of their liberties, the most common fault being that of punishing offenders against the assize of bread and ale by amercements instead of by corporal punishment. In many cases the lords who claimed the right of trying such offenders did not possess the tumbrel, or ducking-stool, and pillory necessary for their due punishment, but even in instances where they did and where they kept them in good repair, as did the lords of Great Oakley, Northamptonshire, they preferred to exact fines which were much more profitable to themselves.² The gallows, too, which those who claimed infangenthef ought to have possessed, were often

¹ *Cal. Ch. R.*, iii, 281. ² *Plac. de Quo War.* (Rec. Com.), 546.

wanting¹ and arrangements had to be made for the hanging of thieves on the gallows of some other lord. Thieves convicted at Multon in Northamptonshire, where there were no gallows, were hanged on the gallows at Northampton.² Though there was a gallows at Daventry on which thieves were sometimes executed, felons taken there were often sent to Northampton to be hanged, the lords of Daventry receiving the profits of justice. In 1383-4 the heads of two robbers executed at Daventry were taken to Northampton and placed upon the castle.³ There were stocks at Daventry for the punishment of minor offenders which were remade in 1381-2.⁴ At Kempston each of the three lords had a separate view, but there was only one tumbrel and pillory by which all offenders were punished. These were in the view of William de Gleykyn to whom John of Brittany, Earl of Richmond, John Balliol's successor, had given his manor in Kempston.⁵ At Sutton in 1407-8 twenty pence were paid for the making of a "thewe" and "cokyngstole."⁶

The lords of Broughton, Fotheringhay, Little Harrowden, Walgrave and Wellingborough claimed the right to test weights and measures. They condemned false weights and measures by breaking and burning and punished transgressors by fine. The standards held by the lords of Fotheringhay and Walgrave were the gallon, pottle and quart, and they claimed to have them through the king's marshal and the justices itinerant.⁷ The same rights were claimed by John Grey, in Harrold in 1286-7, but his successor, Roger Grey did not renew the claim in 1330.⁸ The standards used for the regulation of the measures used in Daventry in the fourteenth century were a rod made of iron, a bushel, a gallon, a pottle and a quart.⁹

In addition to the separate manor courts there were the honour courts at Huntingdon and Earl's Barton

¹ *Plac. de Quo War.* (Rec. Com.), *passim.* ² *Ibid.*, 561.

³ *Mins. Accts.* (D. of L.), 324/5313. ⁴ *Ibid.*, 324/5307.

⁵ *Plac. de Quo War.* (Rec. Com.), 57. ⁶ *Mins. Accts.* (D. of L.) 2/8.

⁷ *Plac. de Quo War.* (Rec. Com.), 514, 520, 547-8, 562.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 5, 45. ⁹ *Mins. Accts.* (D. of L.), 324/5310, 324/5313.

to which the tenants of the honour did suit from three weeks to three weeks. After the partition of the honour the Bruces and Balliols held their courts at Huntingdon while the Hastings held theirs at Earl's Barton.¹ This last court was called Baron's Moot and was held as late as 1791 by Lord Northampton, the tenants of the honour still owing suit and service.² The Hastings family also held the courts of the hundreds of Wymersley and Amfordeshoe in the fourteenth century.³ A soke in the city of London belonged to the honour at an early date. Earl Simon granted it to Roger, son of Rainfrey, and Henry II confirmed the grant probably about 1175.⁴ This must have been the soke in the city of London which the king of Scotland held in 1274-5.⁵ No later reference to this soke has been found.

Sometimes during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries attempts were made by sheriffs or bailiffs to force the men of the honour to do suit at the hundred courts. In 1276 a complaint of this sort was made against Hugh de Bussey and Richard de Lymming. When they were bailiffs of Guido de Lesyna and Geoffrey, his brother, who had the wardship of Henry de Hastings, they forced the men of the honour to do suit at the hundred of Wymersley from three weeks to three weeks and made all the frankpledges come to each hundred and make their presentations at every hundred court when they were accustomed only to do suit and attend the court twice a year. Also they amerced the men according to their own will, though they were accustomed to be amerced by their peers.⁶ In the same year the bailiffs of the Earl of Cornwall were accused of having distrained the men holding of the honour in Holcot to do suit at the hundred court from three weeks to three weeks when they were accustomed only to do suit there twice a year.⁷ In

¹ *Cal. Pat.*, 1317-21, p. 122. *Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), ii, 598. *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. II, vi, 612, p. 388. ² Bridges, *Northampton*, ii, 138.

³ *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. II, v, 412; vi, 612. ⁴ Harl. Ch. 43, c. 26.

⁵ *Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), i, 405, 417, 420, 432.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ii, 8.

⁷ *Ibid.*, ii, 12.

1316 Peter Daneys who held of the honour impleaded Gilbert de Holme, the sheriff of Rutland, because the sheriff had distrained him to do suit at the hundred of Castreton contrary to the liberties granted to the honour in the time of King Henry.¹

The liberties granted to the honour sometimes proved a hindrance to the ordinary administration of justice in the counties and to the proper upkeep of necessary works such as bridges. In 1275-6 some of the tenants of the honour in the hundred of Hirstington, Huntingdon, refused to allow the king's bailiff to perform the king's mandate,² and in the following century Huntingdon bridge remained long in a state of unrepair to the great danger of all the country because the men of the honour claimed that the charter of Henry III exempted them from doing their share of the work of repairing it. In 1364, however, an order was issued that all who were bound to do so were to repair the bridge notwithstanding the charter.³ The grant of freedom from toll brought some of the Northamptonshire tenants of the honour into conflict with the men of the town of Northampton in the thirteenth century. In the year 1274-5 the men of Northampton affirmed that the men of Simon, son of Henry de Hastings, were accustomed at all times to give toll for their merchandise sold and bought in Northampton and that they had withdrawn their toll for seven years on the ground that they were tenants of the honour, while the men of Laurence de Preston and Gilbert de Preston his predecessor, in Preston, Wotton and Billing had withdrawn toll for ten years for the same reason. On the other hand they complained that the bailiff of the son and heir of Henry de Hastings misused the liberty of his lord in Cotes, which was close to Northampton, by taking heavy and undue tolls from merchants coming to the town of Northampton. From a cartload of eels he took half a hundred eels, from a cartload of fish two fish, from

¹ *Abbrev. Plac. (Rec. Com.)*, 323.

² *Hundred Rolls (Rec. Com.)*, i, 197. ³ *Cal. Close*, 1364-8, p. 39.

a horseload one fish, from a horseload of salmon a quarter of a salmon and for a load of millstones sixpence. This he had been used to do for ten years and more to the loss of the king and the community of Northampton of twenty shillings a year. Also the same son and heir of Henry de Hastings, Henry de Hastings himself before him, and their bailiffs kept merchants and brewers in the vill of Cotes and thus were guilty of forestalling the town of Northampton. Further, although the royal charters granted to the burgesses of Northampton gave them the right to distrain their debtors for their debts within the town of Northampton, whenever they distrained the men of Cotes the bailiff of Henry de Hastings there used to distrain the burgesses of Northampton and retain the distrains until he got back the distrains taken of his men.¹

Among the franchises granted to the tenants of the honour from time to time were several grants of markets and fairs. There was a market at Potton from a very early time. In 1203 it was changed from Sunday to Saturday² and in 1227 Henry Braybrook had a grant of a fair in his manor there on the vigil, the feast and the morrow of St. James the Apostle.³ The abbesses of Elstow claimed to hold their fair at Elstow on the eve and the day of the feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross and the two days following by a grant of Henry II.⁴ A weekly market on Thursday in the manor of Market Overton and a yearly fair there on the vigil, the feast and the morrow of SS. Peter and Paul, were granted to Gilbert de Umfraville, Earl of Angus, in 1267. By a later grant of the same year the day of the market was altered to Wednesday, and the grant was confirmed in 1315 to Bartholomew de Badlesmere who was then lord of the manor.⁵ In 1301 William Burdett had a grant of two yearly fairs and a weekly market on Wednesday at

¹ *Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), ii, 2-4. ² *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), 36.

³ *Cal. Chart. R.*, i, 22. ⁴ *Plac. de Quo War.* (Rec. Com.), 12, 35.

⁵ *Cal. Ch. R.*, ii, 77, 80; iii, 283.

his manor of Loseby, Leicester. Each fair lasted for four days. One was held on the morrow of St. Michael and the three days following, and the other on the vigil and the feast of SS. Philip and James and the two days following.¹ John Hastings had a grant in 1314 of a weekly market on Wednesday and a fair on the vigil, the feast and the morrow of Holy Trinity, at his manor of Yardley Hastings,² and John of Brittany, Earl of Richmond, had in 1329 the right to hold a weekly market on Wednesday and a fair on the eve, the feast and the morrow of St. Michael at Fotheringhay.³ This market was held in an open space a little to the west of the parish church now called the marketstead.⁴ Yardley Hastings was situated near a large group of manors held of the honour in Northamptonshire, several of which were held of it,⁵ and would, therefore, form a convenient centre for a market. Fotheringhay was rather isolated from the other fees held of the honour, but it was the chief seat of the Balliols and had an important castle. Dependent upon it were the two hamlets of Nassington and Yarwell which had been granted to Earl David by Richard I⁶ and did not belong to the honour. Near Loseby in Leicester were William Burdett's other manors of Brooksby, Sysonby, Welby and Rearsby; and Potton, in Bedfordshire, with Stratton and Holm, formed a group of neighbouring manors dependent upon the manor of Sutton.⁷

The fair of Elstow from its proximity to their town was resented by the burgesses of Bedford who molested travellers passing through Bedford to the fair and it was found necessary for the king to issue a writ (twelfth century, undated) to the reeve and burgesses of Bedford to see that no harm came to such travellers.⁸ In 1294 Beatrix de Baleok, Simon atte Halle, Thomas atte Halle and Albreda, his wife, were sued before the bailiffs and coroners of Bedford for having stolen from

¹ *Cal. Ch. R.*, iii, 16.

² *Ibid.*, iii, 239.

³ *Plac. de Quo War.* (Rec. Com.), 547-8. ⁴ V. C. H. *Northants*, ii, 570.

⁵ *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. I, ii, 69.

⁶ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, i, 275.

⁷ See p. 33.

⁸ V. C. H. *Beds*, iii, 281.

the booth of William de Saint Briavells of London a pot, a ewer and a brazen spoon and were condemned to be hanged.¹

Daventry was early a market town, and merchants who lived of their merchandise were quit of toll of "Tonnuebret."² In 1275 the burgesses of Northampton complained of the existence of this market as injurious to themselves through being too near their town. They said that when the liberty of the town was granted to them it had been conceded that no market should be held within the space of ten leagues.³ Nevertheless the lords of Daventry continued to hold their market. In 1382-3 a seal of iron was made for sealing the measures, and the clerk of the market was paid four shillings for sealing the pottle and the quart measures with the seal. There was also a chest (*cista*) "for other necessaries" bought of the executors of Thomas Daventry.⁴ In the following year a *pix* was bought for the toll.⁵ Complaint was made in 1274-5 that the bailiffs of Robert fitz Walter, then lord of Daventry, took toll of the burgesses of Northampton, who had the liberty of being quit of toll throughout England.⁶ The market was held on Wednesday of each week and there was also a fair held yearly on the eve and the day of St. Augustine,⁷ when six men of Daventry guarded "le barreres."⁸

In early times the tenants of the honour were apparently not allowed to build castles or fortify their manor-houses, and the only castles were those held by the earls—the castle of Huntingdon, probably destroyed by Henry II, and after its destruction the castle of Fotheringhay.⁹ But in the fourteenth century the Latimers had a castle at Braybrook, Leicester,¹⁰ and in 1306 Walter de Langton, Bishop of Coventry

¹ *Plac. de Quo War.* (Rec. Com.), 18.

² *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 37. ³ *Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), ii, 2.

⁴ *Mins. Accts.* (D. of L.), 324/5310. ⁵ *Ibid.*, 324/5313.

⁶ *Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), ii, 4.

⁷ *Plac. de Quo War.* (Rec. Com.), 501.

⁸ *Mins. Accts.* (D. of L.), 324/5310.

⁹ See p. 29.

¹⁰ *Ch. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. III, 164 (28).

and Lichfield, had licence to crenellate his manor of Ashby David, afterwards known as Castle Ashby.¹

The forest privileges granted to the earls of Huntingdon were that they and their men holding of them should have freedom from waste of the forest, assart, ward and regard, liberty to take green wood and dry in their woods without view and livery of the king's foresters and to have their woods in their own custody. The earls were to have their "haia" of Yardley and their brushwood of Barton and Doddington free to sell and give to whom they would and to do therewith as they would, and they were to have their venison and warren therein.² In the following century the Hastings family had at Yardley Hastings a park, a free chase or private forest, an underwood called "le Roundehai" and an underwood called Bartonbruil in Earl's Barton.³ In the chase of Yardley the earls and their successors had rights in their tenants' woods similar to those of the king in the royal forests. A wood in the chase belonged to the manor of Brayfield⁴ and when King David confirmed the church of Brayfield to the monks of Northampton he granted them the right to have two cartloads of rushes in the wood of Yardley.⁵

The right to cut wood in his wood of Great Oakley and to sell it was claimed by Richard de Lyons in 1336 by virtue of the charter. The wood had been previously taken into the king's hand because Richard's woodward had hunted a buck in it contrary to the oath he had taken to protect the king's venison, and Richard was accused of having resumed the wood himself without warrant as well as of having cut wood. The king ordered that if Richard should find sufficient mainpernours to answer to the king according to the assize of the forest, for the trespass, before the justices for the pleas of the forest should come to these parts, the keeper was to cause the wood to be replevied to

¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1301-7, p. 462. ² *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, i, 205.

³ *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. II, vi, 612. ⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, p. 52.

him.¹ The record of the result of this claim has not been found, but it appears that, in general, the tenants of the honour who had woods in the forest received no profit from them apart from their rights of pasture.

In addition to this general grant of forest liberties to the honour, the kings of England from time to time made special grants to individual tenants. The most extensive of these was King John's grant confirming to the Abbot of Sawtrey that he should hold his wood of Sawtrey which is within the metes and bounds of the forest of Weybridge quit of waste and regard and of all pleas (*querelis*) so that he could take freely and without impediment and without view of the foresters in that wood what he wished saving the king's venison and that no forester should interfere in any part of that wood or of his assarts.² By this charter the abbot claimed the right of exemption from attendance at the swainmoot courts of the forest. In later years the warden of the forest distrained the abbot and his men to come to the court, but judgment was given in favour of the abbot in 1300.³

Here as elsewhere grants of free warren were frequent in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁴ By virtue of such a grant the lord of a manor obtained the exclusive right of hunting the fox, the hare, the wild cat, the coney and, after 1338, the roe in his demesne lands. Elsewhere the public had the right of hunting in all uninclosed lands outside the forest.⁵

Many of the lords of the manors held of the honour had parks in their demesnes. Those within the king's forests were Fotheringhay, Harringworth, Lilford Preston Deanery and Yardley Hastings, Northamptonshire, and Owston, Leicestershire. The kings made frequent grants of deer from their forests to stock these parks. The earliest found was in 1227, when the keeper of the forest of Salcey was ordered to let Walter de Preston have deer in that forest to stock his park

¹ *Cal. Close*, 1333-7, pp. 681-2. ² *Rot. Chart.* (Rec. Com.), i, 154b.

³ *Add. Ch.*, 34, 196.

⁴ *Cal. Chart. R.*, *passim*. *Plac. de Quo War.* (Rec. Com.), *passim*.

⁵ Turner, *Select Pleas*, p. cxxiii *et seq.*

of Preston.¹ In January, 1229-30 John, Earl of Chester and Huntingdon, had permission to make two deer leaps in his park of Fotheringhay,² and in 1235 John de Neville, justiciar of the forest, was commanded to let the same earl have ten live does and three bucks in the king's forest of Rockingham to stock this park.³ Edward III granted to William la Zouche of Haringworth permission to make a deer-leap a hundred feet long in his park of Haringworth, which is next the king's forest of Rockingham. In 1329 William had his park there with the deer-leap,⁴ and in 1330 Roger Grey had a deer-leap in his park of Harrold.⁵ No licences to impark have been found, although these were necessary if parks were within the king's forest or in its immediate neighbourhood, so that there was a possibility of the king's deer straying into them. In 1231 a grant to Roger de Quincy of permission to enclose his wood of Stert with a ditch and a hedge, provided that wild beasts might freely enter and go out, and to assart and cultivate the wood was confirmed,⁶ and in 1280 the king granted to Der-vorguilla de Balliol as a special favour freedom for that tourn from common summons of the justices errant in the counties where her lands lay, both common pleas and pleas of the forest.⁷

Other grants in the forests were a grant by Henry II to Earl Simon of sixty acres in the forest of Akeden in the direction of Kimbolton to assart and to support (*ad hospitandum*) Goisfridus, his man, upon,⁸ and a grant in 1236 to Imbert de Hereford of five oaks of the king's gift in the forest of "Sapele" "*ad se hospitandum apud Thownacslund.*"⁹

The liberty of Tyndale was held by the kings of Scotland in regality. They administered justice there through their own justices, pleading common pleas and pleas of the Crown by the law of England and issuing

¹ *Cal. Close*, 1227-31, p. 6.

² *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, i, 1071.

³ *Ibid.*, i, 1248.

⁴ *Plac. de Quo War.* (Rec. Com.), 529.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 45.

⁶ *Cal. Close*, 1227-31, p. 550.

⁷ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, ii, 181.

⁸ *Cartae Antiquae*, EE12.

⁹ *Cal. Close*, 1234-7, p. 249.

their writs out of their chancery of Scotland. The steward of the liberty, as the Scottish king's representative, met the justices itinerant on their arrival at Chillewell or Fourstanes or Quaquandebriq and afterwards came before the justices on the first day of the itinerary and sought the articles of the Crown. These having been delivered, the king of Scotland's assizes were held after the close of the assizes of the English itinerant justices. The Scottish kings also appointed their own coroners. They imprisoned offenders in their prison at Wark and had the power to inflict capital punishment. Within a year after the close of the assizes they delivered their prisons in the liberty according to their own will. At a later date, when Queen Philippa held the liberty, sessions were also held at Simonburn, where there was a prison,¹ by justices appointed by the Queen.²

Amongst the feudal rights pertaining to the liberty were those of wardship and marriage. The lord could also grant to his tenants charters of free warren.³ There is no record of the grant of markets and fairs, and it appears that the kings of England retained the right of making such grants, for in 1221 Henry III granted to William Comyn, Earl of Buchan, justiciar of Scotland, a weekly market on Thursday at his manor of Thornton in Tyndale.⁴ The Scottish kings themselves held no castles in Tyndale and they had not the power to grant to their tenants licences to embattle their manor-houses. This was a necessary precaution in case of war between the two countries. War threatened on that account in 1237, when David de Lindsay, with the king of Scotland's permission, began to build and fortify a tower in Tyndale, but was

¹ *Cal. of Pat.* 1358-61, p. 374.

² *Mins. Accts.*, 952/11. The court held at Wark survived till 1846 as a petty debt court (Webb, *Manor*, 44), and the king's writ did not run in Tyndale till the middle of the reign of George III (*Arch. Aeliana N. S.*, iii, 126-7).

³ *Plac. de Quo War.* (Rec. Com.), 604. *Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), ii, 21. Page, *Northumberland Assize Rolls* (Surtees Soc.), 365. *Arch. Instit. of Great Britain and Ireland, Proceedings*, Newcastle, ii, App. III.

⁴ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, i, 809.

averted by the agreement made between the two countries in that year.¹ In 1267-8, however, Henry III granted to John Comyn licence to crenellate a house (camera) which he proposed to build within his manor of Tarsset. He was to enclose it with a fosse and a wall of stone and lime.²

With those last exceptions the kings of Scotland had practically the same rights in the liberty as they had in their kingdom of Scotland; only they had to do homage to the English kings for Tyndale. In the Northumberland Assize Roll of 1279 Tyndale is described as "outside the kingdom of England in the kingdom of Scotland."³

Other occasional grants of privileges were made by English kings to individual tenants in Tyndale after the Scottish kings had forfeited the liberty. In 1307 William de Ros of Yolton had a grant of a weekly market on Thursday at his manor of Haltwhistle, a yearly fair there on the vigil, the feast and the morrow of the Invention of the Cross, and another fair on the vigil, day and morrow of Martinmas.⁴ In the same year a grant of free warren in his demesne lands in Simonburn was made to Adam de Swinburn,⁵ and on November 3rd, 1337, Robert de Vipont had licence to impark his wood of Walnewood in Alston, county Cumberland, provided that it be not within the metes of the forest.⁶ Several castles and peels were built in Tyndale during the Scottish wars. The peel of Staworth was erected before 1326,⁷ John de Thirlwall was lord of Thirlwall Castle in 1369,⁸ Halghton Castle was in the hands of Queen Philippa in 1362-8,⁹ and in 1415 there was a tower at Wark.¹⁰

In the Cumberland manors also the kings of Scotland had great privileges, but no greater than those bestowed upon other favoured subjects of the English kings. They were free from sheriff's aid, hidage

¹ Bates, *Northumberland*, 135. ² *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, i, 2463.

³ *Northumberland Assize Rolls* (Surtees Soc.), 365.

⁴ *Cal. Chart. R.*, iii, 88. ⁵ *Ibid.*, 84. ⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1334-8, p. 550.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1324-7, p. 261. ⁸ Hodgson, *Northumberland*, II, iii, 147.

⁹ *Mins. Accts.*, 952/11. ¹⁰ *Arch. Aeliana* N. S., xiv, 18.

carucage, danegeld, horngeld, scutage, tallage and other such payments. They were to have all cattle called "waif" found in their lands unless they were followed and claimed by their owners. They had wide powers of jurisdiction, amounting, in fact, to *jura regalia*. All such pleas as were usually held before the justices in the king's bench or any pleas which might be held before the king himself in his court were pleaded by the king of Scotland's bailiffs in his own court. Pleas which could not be determined before the bailiffs, were held before the justices itinerant at the first assize before any other pleas were held. The king of Scotland's steward was to be present and to sit as a justice. Pleas of the Crown were also held by the English king's bailiffs and coroners in the presence of the bailiff of the king of Scotland before the itinerant justices and the Scottish king's steward at the first assize. The king of Scotland had all the profits of jurisdiction, and in the case of a felony justice was executed by his bailiffs and men.¹ The king of Scotland's prison was at Penrith. In 1278 the king of Scotland's bailiffs of Penrith and elsewhere in Cumberland were accused of using his liberties illegally and of refusing to answer before the justices appointed to hold and decide assizes of novel disseisin and other trespasses. They consented to answer only before the king's justices for all pleas, thus hindering justice and subverting the royal authority. They were also accused of having amerced freemen in their lord's courts without the judgment of their peers, contrary to statute.²

The manors were in the royal forest of Inglewood and special forest privileges were held by the Scottish kings. They and their men claimed to have "husbote" and "heybote"³ and common pasture in the wood of Sowerby and elsewhere in the forest, livery of the wood of Inglewood forest every seventh year for building and repairing their houses and hedges,

¹ *Rolls of Parl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 114-16.

² *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, ii, pp. 37-8, 39.

³ The right to take wood for the repair of their houses and hedges.

the right to have trees which had been blown down for building purposes, and dry wood and to dig turf for burning within the forest.¹ The royal foresters were not allowed to enter the manors for eating or drinking or entertainment or for anything except for the purpose of making attachments for the pleas of the forest.² During the thirteenth century there were many disputes between the men of the king of Scotland and the forest officers regarding their privileges. The township of Penrith had common of pasture on either side of the river Petteril in a part of the forest described in 1268 as being half a league in length and in breadth ten forest perches. This was part of a "placea" between the royal way from Penrith to Carlisle and the king's park of Plumpton, and in 1268 Roger de Lancaster, then forester of Inglewood forest, enclosed it with the king's park.³ The sequel to this was the imprisonment of men of the township on several occasions in 1269 and 1270 for trespasses in the king's forest of Plumpton committed for the purpose of defending their rights.⁴ An inquiry was, therefore, held concerning the king's right to inclose and other grievances of the king of Scotland's men. The men of Penrith complained that by this enclosure they had been disseised of three hundred acres of land and also that the foresters had imparked the water at Plumpton so that there was no water for their cattle within the common. The jurors decided that the land enclosed belonged to the English king, but he could not enclose it without loss to the king of Scotland and his men, because they had a common there. As to the enclosure of the water at Plumpton, they said that this was an injury to the king of Scotland whereby he had lost twenty shillings. The men of Scotby claimed a right to common at Peterelwra and Barrokemosse within the forest, but it was found that they had this right only when the steward of the forest gave them

¹ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, i, 1887.

² *Rolls of Parl. (Rec. Com.)*, i, 114-16.

³ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, i, 2487. ⁴ *Ibid.*, i, 2540, 2578, 2579.

special permission (*nisi pro suo dando senescallo foresti*). The men of all the manors accused Roger of Lancaster of having failed to give them livery of the forest of Inglewood for fifteen years in spite of the king's mandate. At last he ordered the verderers to make a view of their estovers.¹ They reported that the king of Scotland required three hundred and thirty-four oaks by the greater hundred for repairs, but as Roger thought that this would be too great a loss he refused to deliver them to the king of Scotland's loss of four pounds, two shillings and one penny. The case was referred for judgment to the king because the land was in the forest.²

There were other complaints concerning common. The men of Sowerby claimed to have common with their beasts within the cover of the forest of Inglewood without hindrance, but Roger of Lancaster and the forester had seized their beasts within the cover and fined the men heavily at the pleas of the forest. Also, if any of their beasts went astray in the forest and was captured by the foresters it had to be redeemed by the payment of a fine. Further Roger of Lancaster and his foresters had taken the horses of the men of Penrith in the part of the common pasture which was lately enclosed within the park before it was enclosed, and for each horse he exacted twelve pence and for every other beast a penny. In this last instance the decision of the jury was against the foresters. The swine of the manors also had been seized during fawning time and the best pig taken from each herd for the use of Roger of Lancaster, but the jurors found that this had been the custom time out of mind. Another complaint was that when any of the men of the manors looked for their beasts within the forest the foresters demanded security for them and imprisoned them unless they effected their redemption with the foresters. This was found to be an injury to the king of Scotland. Again, Roger de Lancaster

¹ Estovers—allowance of wood for repairs.

² Chanc. Misc., Bdle 12, File 1.

had enclosed a place within the common pasture of Penrith called Byrkemire and had let it at a rent to Thomas de Capella. The jurors said that Thomas de Capella had seisin of Byrkemire by a mandate of the king of England, directed to William de Dakyr, then sheriff of Cumberland, but that afterwards Roger de Huntercombe, then bailiff of the king of Scotland, came and prevented Thomas from making any profit of it until he rented it from the king of Scotland for twelve pence a year, and Thomas gave Roger de Huntercombe half a mark for having entry. The men of the manors claimed to have dead wood lying on the ground or standing dry, but the foresters prevented them from taking away any wood unless it was lying on the ground. They also claimed that tenants of the manors were accustomed to have one cartload of birchwood that was dead for making and repairing their ploughs and waggons once in each year, and they had paid a penny to the forester for each load; but they were entirely prevented by the foresters, so that they got nothing for the upkeep of their houses. Roger and his foresters were accused of making attachments within the liberty of the king of Scotland contrary to the tenor of his charter. The jurors, however, found that the foresters and verderers ought to make attachments of vert and venison in the manors but that any bailiff of the king of Scotland should be advised by the foresters so that he might be present at the attachments if he desired to attend. The Scottish king also claimed to have the amercements for forfeitures from forest pleas as well as all other pleas, but the bailiffs of the forest amerced his men at their pleas of the forest and extorted the amercements from them. The jurors said that the king of Scotland ought to receive every kind of amercement of vert and venison and of all pleas determined before the justices in Eyre, but he had never been accustomed to receive amercements arising from the escape of beasts and the like. In the time of Roger of Lancaster, also, the foresters had, contrary to the charter, continually

spent time in the manors, received entertainment, made attachments without summoning the bailiffs, seized the men within their own houses and arrested and imprisoned them at their will. The men of the manors had a right to free fishery in all waters within the lands of the king of Scotland, but they were hindered by Roger de Lancaster and his foresters and if found fishing were seized and imprisoned.¹ In 1274 Edward I ordered another inquiry into the rights of Alexander, king of Scotland, and his men of Salkeld in the king's park of Plumpton and the forest of Inglewood.² The manors of the king of Scotland claimed to be free of pannage in the king's demesne woods, and in 1285 the foresters and verderers presented that the men of the manors had withheld the pannage for twenty-eight years and the towns were required to answer for the value of it.³ In the same year it was presented that the dogs were not lawed in these towns within the metes of the forest, and forty shillings was demanded from Penrith, twenty shillings from Salkeld, a mark from Scotby and two marks from Sowerby.⁴ Again, in 1308-9 and 1314-15, complaints were made by the tenants that they had been deprived of their privileges, and an inquiry was ordered.⁵

At a later date the tenants of the manors suffered great losses through the havoc wrought by the inroads of the Scots, and for this reason and because their crops had been damaged by the deer from the royal forest, Edward III in 1363 granted common of pasture for all cattle to the men and tenants of Penrith, Salkeld and Sowerby, and this grant was confirmed in 1388.⁶ Temporary privileges were also granted for special reasons. When Alexander III married Margaret, the daughter of Henry III, he assigned the manor of Sowerby to her for her chamber. In 1257

¹ Cumb. and Westm. Antiq. and Arch. Soc. *Proc.* N.S., vi, 166-70.


² *Cal. of Docs. rel. to Scotland*, ii, 17.

³ Cumb. and Westm. Antiq. and Arch. Soc. *Proc.* N.S., ix, 32.

⁴ *Ibid.*, N.S., x, 10.

⁵ Chanc. Misc., Bdle. II, File 6, No. 4. *Rolls of Parl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 279b, 313b.

⁶ *Cal. of Docs. rel. to Scotland*, iv, 85. *Cal. of Pat.*, 1385-9. p. 406.

Henry granted to her leave to improve the waste of the manor outside the covert, without making assart, and to enclose and cultivate it ; yet so that the hind with her fawn might go in and out;¹ and again in 1261-2 he granted to her the right to hold the wood of the manor of Sowerby free of regard so long as she held it, and to take estover in the wood without view of the foresters, but she was not to make waste, sale or "exilium."² 

Another privilege claimed by the king of Scotland under the charter of Henry III was that of treasure trove. In 1278 twenty-one silver pennies of some unknown old money were found in the fields of Sowerby and were delivered to the justices for the king of England, but they were claimed by the Scottish king's steward for his lord's use.³

In the fourteenth century, after the manors had again returned into the hands of the English king, special grants were made to the town of Penrith. During that century the town and the surrounding country suffered very severely from the inroads of the Scots and the chief burden of defence for that neighbourhood fell upon Penrith. It was therefore necessary to fortify the town, and in April, 1346, the good men of Penrith had licence to crenellate their town.⁴ At the same time they had a grant of murage for seven years.⁵ On August 6th, 1348, commissioners were appointed to find out what were the metes and bounds of the town of Penrith which needed defence and in what parts of the town a wall should be made.⁶ In the same year the tenants petitioned the king to grant them certain liberties towards completing the work of inclosing the town. They asked that the town might be a free borough, that they should hold it at farm, elect their own mayor, bailiffs and coroners, and have a fair on the morrow of St. Luke the Evangelist and for four days following and a gild merchant, that they might

¹ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, i, 2081. ² *Ibid.*, i, 2329.

³ *Ibid.*, ii, 146, p. 33.

⁴ *Cal. Pat.* 1345-8, p. 69.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1348-50, p. 175.

have cognisance of trespasses within the borough and be quit of toll, lastage, passage, pavage, pontage, tallage, murage, piccage, fossage and stallage and the sheriff's tourn, and that merchants coming to the borough might be quit of toll for ever. They petitioned also that no assarts should be made within the common pastures and wastes pertaining to the borough, that they might take dead and dry wood throughout the whole forest of Inglewood for their farm as they had been accustomed to do, that they might be quit of the expeditation of their dogs therein, that no forester should enter the borough to make attachments for trespasses within the forest, and that they might have common of pasture in the forest for all their animals and cattle feeding anywhere in the pasture pertaining to the town. On December 10th a commission was appointed to enquire whether the petition could be granted without loss to the king or anyone else.¹ The petition was evidently refused, for the town did not become a borough. In 1391 the bailiffs and men of Penrith had another grant of murage for six years.² Apparently they were not able to raise enough money from the community for the adequate protection of the town by fortification, for in 1397 William Strickland, clerk, afterwards Bishop of Carlisle, had licence to crenellate a chamber in Penrith.³ In 1399 he had permission to dig stone at Penrith-felles within the forest of Inglewood to complete the fortalice which he was making at Penrith to fortify the town and the adjacent country,⁴ and later in the same year he had further licence to make a mantlet of stone and lime which he was to join to the chamber. All this he did at his own expense in aid and succour of the said town and adjacent country.⁵

¹ *Cal. Pat.*, 1348-50, pp. 248-9.

² *Ibid.*, 1388-92, p. 499.

³ *Ibid.*, 1396-99, p. 66.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 480.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 524.

CHAPTER V

THE MANORIAL ECONOMY

THE materials for an account of the manorial economy of the honour are scanty. No honour court rolls have survived nor any extent or survey of the honour as a whole. Inquisitions Post Mortem on members of the Balliol, Bruce and Hastings families enable us to make a fairly complete list of the fees held of the honour, but they give little information as to the conditions on the manors as a whole, because only the demesne manors are extended in full. Many extents of single manors in different counties and at different dates are to be found in inquisitions on individual sub-tenants; a few also in Rentals and Surveys and Ancient Extents, while the Hundred Rolls for Huntingdon give an account of the lands held in that county about 1279. Very few early Minister's Accounts or Manor Court Rolls have survived in public archives, and of documents in private hands only one has been found having any bearing on mediæval conditions. This is a custumal of the manors of Tottenham, Middlesex, compiled at a later date, but showing the relations between the lord of the manor and his tenants in the later Middle Ages.¹

As a rule the manors held of the honour were administered as separate estates, though there were small groups, such as that of Sutton, Potton and Stratton, Bedfordshire, which were managed together as a whole. At the head of each estate was the lord of the manor. He might be a great feudal baron and for the greater part of the year an absentee, or the manor might belong

¹ In possession of Sir W. M. Curtis, lord of the manor of Tottenham.

to a religious house. Then the estate would be managed by a bailiff. But for the most part the greater landowner had subinfeoffed a smaller man in each of his manors. Many of the sub-tenants held only this one estate and resided on it throughout the year. They, as well as the tenants in chief, generally held by knight-service. The religious houses usually held in free alms. But the Prior of St. Neots, who held a virgate in free alms in Abbotsley, also paid scutage when it happened,¹ and in Offord Darcy he provided a lamp to burn in the church.² There were also some secular tenants who held by grand serjeantry. In 1284 William, son of Warin, held one-third of the manor of Ashby Mears of the king of Scotland by the service of holding his stirrup on Christmas day,³ and the manor of Pembrokes in Tottenham (which came into existence after the death of the widow of John le Scot, when Tottenham manor was divided among his coheirs)⁴ was held by the service of a pair of gilt spurs on the English king's taking knighthood if demanded.⁵ Many of the manors were deeply subinfeoffed, and the sub-tenants held also by knight-service and serjeantry, by homage and foreign service and by suit at the court of the honour.⁶

In the average manor we find a large area of arable land, a small area of meadow and a belt of land consisting of waste, wood or marsh, on which the cattle of the village were driven for pasture. The land lay in demesne and in villeinage. The demesne land was cultivated for the lord's own profit, except these parts which were let out to free tenants in return for rents in money and in kind and occasional labour services. The land held in villeinage consisted of holdings of a

¹ *Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), ii, 672.

² *Ibid.*, ii, 668.

³ *Feudal Aids*, iv, 16.

⁴ See p. 31-2.

⁵ Blount's *Tenures* (ed. Hazlitt), p. 324.

⁶ In 1279 John du Lay held the manor of Oakington, Cambridgeshire, by service of one fourth knight's fee and a pair of gloves yearly of John de Burdeleis who held of Robert de Bruce [*Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), ii, 449], and in the same year Gilbert de Lindsay held in Molesworth, Huntingdon, a half knight's fee of William de Lindsay for a pair of gilt spurs. This William held in his turn of William de Bruce by "foreign" service and William de Bruce held of Robert de Bruce [*Ibid.*, ii, 617].

virgate or a half virgate, held by villeins, together with smaller tenements held by cotters and cultivated for their own use. In return for this the tenants cultivated the demesne and paid certain rents in kind and money. The arable land, which was, of course, the most important, lay in the common fields and was divided into acre or half-acre strips separated by balks of unploughed turf, and each villein held a number of scattered strips. Most of the cotters also held a few acres in addition to their cottages and crofts. The arable of the lord's demesne sometimes consisted of scattered strips in the field and sometimes of strips lying together and fenced off from the rest. The latter was the more profitable arrangement, as after the harvest the arable land was used as common pasture for the whole vill. There were two systems of cultivation, the more common being the three-field system. One field was sown with wheat in the early winter, the second was sown with barley or oats in the spring, and the third lay fallow. The other system was the two-field system in which one field was sown with crops every year and the other lay fallow. The meadow, of which each customary tenant had a strip, also became pasture common to all the villagers after the grass was mown.¹ Here as elsewhere the lord often held meadow and sometimes also pasture in severalty, but his several pastures were not always several all the year round. At Offord Darcy, Huntingdon, the pasture at "le Heegh Snappe" and "Littlecroft" was several only between Ascension and the first of August;² at Kempston, Bedfordshire,³ and Whissendine, Rutland, the lord's pasture was several between the feast of Purification and Michaelmas,⁴ at Sudbury, Bedfordshire, between the feast of Purification and the first of August,⁵ and at Tottenham, Middlesex, it lay in common from the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula to the feast of the Purification.⁶ The lords also had several

¹ At Caldecote, Huntingdon, two acres one rood of meadow were mown every two years and lay in common the third year as fallow.—Ch. Inq. P.M., Edw. III, 23 (16).

² *Ibid.*, 27 (13).

³ *Ibid.*, 91 (10).

⁴ *Ibid.*, 90 (10).

⁵ *Ibid.*, 37 (19).

⁶ *Ibid.*, 91 (16).

pastures in their parks and demesne woods. Every tenant had the right to pasture his cattle on the common pasture by virtue of his holding, the size of which determined what number of beasts he might send on to the common. The tenants sometimes had common pasture in the lord's woods.¹ The manors of Caldecote, Conington and Sawtrey, Huntingdon, were situated in marshland in the north of the county, and the marsh pertaining to each afforded pasture for the cattle of the manor.²

The land was measured by hides, virgates and acres, and, as usual, the hide did not always contain the same number of virgates, or the virgate the same number of acres. At Caldecote, Huntingdonshire, a hide of demesne land contained five virgates and a virgate twenty-five acres,³ and at Conington a hide contained four virgates and a virgate thirty acres.⁴ The villein holdings generally consisted of a virgate or a half virgate of land. At Kempston (Beds),⁵ Harringworth,⁶ Multon⁷ and Yardley Hastings⁸ (Northants), Caldecote⁹ and Beachampstead¹⁰ (Hunts), there were virgaters, while at Houghton Conquest, Beds,¹¹ and in the majority of the Huntingdonshire manors all the villeins were semi-virgaters.¹² At Beachampstead the virgate contained only sixteen acres,¹³ the same number as the half virgate of Diddington.¹⁴ At Eynesbury and Hardwick the half virgate contained eighteen acres,¹⁵ at Great Paxton sixteen acres of land and one rood of meadow,¹⁶ and at Toseland fifteen acres of land and a rood and

¹ The free tenants of Henry de St. Maur who held under William Grimbaud in Diddington had common pasture in the wood of William Grimbaud [*Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), ii, 685].

² The tenants of the Abbot of Sawtrey gave fifteen capons to William le Moyné for common rights in the marsh and the men of Conington drove their beasts to pasture beyond the "lode" of the monks over two bridges which the Abbot of Sawtrey had to maintain [*Ibid.*, ii, 654, 663]; and see p. 15.

³ *Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), ii, 636.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii, 652.

⁵ Rentals and Surveys (Gen. Ser.), 5 (7).

⁶ E. Inq. P.M. [Ser. I], 5 (10).

⁷ Ch. Inq. P.M., Edw. III, 37 (22).

⁸ *Ibid.*, 91 (25). One villein held a half virgate.

⁹ *Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), ii, 636.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, ii, 667.

¹¹ Ch. Inq. P.M., Edw. I, 83 (8).

¹² *Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), ii, 598 *et passim*.

¹³ *Ibid.*, ii, 667.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, ii, 685.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, ii, 669.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, ii, 686.

a half of meadow.¹ At Tottenham, Middlesex, each virgate contained thirty-two acres.² At Little Paxton the majority of the villein holdings were measured by acres. There were holdings of twenty acres of land and a half acre of meadow, ten acres of land and one rood of meadow, seven acres of land and two parts of a rood of meadow, five acres of land and a half rood of meadow, and one villein of William de Stanton held three-quarters of a virgate of land and a rood and a half of meadow.³ Three villeins of William du Lay in Great Paxton held a quarter of a virgate⁴ and at Barford in Bedfordshire eight villeins held ten acres of land each.⁵ In Molesworth the villeins held twenty-two acres of meadow among them.⁶

The lord of a manor had his manor-house generally consisting of a hall and chamber with kitchen, dairy and farm buildings (including granges, stables, cow-shed, sheep-shed and dovecot), courtyard and enclosure. He had his mill and his bakehouse to which the customary tenants owed suit, his fishponds well stocked with fish and, in many cases, his park stocked with deer and his rabbit warren.⁷ The manor-houses of the great lords who entertained great personages or maintained large retinues were correspondingly greater: At Tottenham there was a knight's chamber in 1254,⁸ and at Harringworth in 1273 the buildings included a great hall, a chamber with a fireplace with passages (alure), a wardrobe with fireplace, a chamber beyond the door with wardrobe, and a chapel.⁹ The buildings were generally made of stone and lime and roofed with stone, slates or straw. Sheep-sheds were made of wattles.¹⁰

¹ *Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), ii, 671. ² Ch. Inq. P.M., Hen. III, 16 (7).

³ *Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), ii, 672.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii, 686. ⁵ *Ibid.*, ii, 670. ⁶ *Ibid.*, ii, 618.

⁷ There was a vineyard at Kempston in 1254 [*Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, i, 1958] and a garden called 'le vyneyerd' at Little Paxton in 1326 [Ch. Inq. P.M., Edw. II, 100 (9)].

⁸ Ch. Inq. P.M., Hen. III, 16 (7).

⁹ Ch. Inq. P.M., Edw. I, 2 (7).

¹⁰ At Harringworth the hall, chambers, chapel, kitchen, great stable and granary were built of stone and lime and roofed with stone; the grange, cowshed and small stable were built of stone and roofed with straw. There were buildings in the park built of stone and lime and roofed with stone and lime—a chamber with cellars and two great sheepfolds [Ch. Inq. P.M., Edw. I, 2 (7)]. At Kempston Hastingsbury

In the early Middle Ages the manor was self-supporting. The demesne was cultivated by the work of the tenants and the produce was for the most part consumed upon the manor. The lord received rents in money and kind as well as labour services from his tenants, and other profits accrued to him from his position as feudal lord. He had the profits of the jurisdiction of the manorial court; he had the power to seize the land, goods and chattels of felons and fugitives; he had the wardship of the heirs of his tenants whether free or customary; he had profits arising from the regulation of weights and measures and of the sale of bread and ale; he could exact fines from his customary tenants on various occasions connected with their tenure. He had also the right to appoint the manorial officers from among the villeins. Among other sources from which he derived profit were the sale of underwood and rabbits, pannage of pigs and agistment of cattle. Often several pasture was farmed, as were also the mill and the bakehouse, and in later days the arable of the demesne and even the garden and site of the manor. Dwelling in the manor were usually to be found free tenants. Their houses were of much the same character as the manor-house of a small estate. For the greater part of the year they were engaged in cultivating their own holdings, but in the autumn they usually had to assist with the harvest boon works. Sometimes, as at Toseland, they acted as overseers,¹ but often they worked with the villeins. They usually paid rent in money or in kind—cummin, pepper, capons, a pair of gloves, a pair of gilt spurs. Many of them held by homage and foreign service, suit of court and scutage, and some of them held by special services or serjeantries.² Free tenants sometimes had villeins holding under them.

in 1391-2 there was a grange roofed with straw and a granary roofed with slates [Rentals and Surveys (D. of L.), Bdle. 14, No. 3].

¹ *Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), ii, 671. In 1361-2 at Market Overton twelve free tenants called "overmanni" sent their tenants to the autumn boon work and had sufficient food and drink to the value of 2s. 6d. [Mins. Accts., 964/12].

² In Hardwick, Huntingdonshire, in 1278 a free tenant of Randolf de

The villeins, besides cultivating their own holdings, had to do the greater part of the agricultural work on the lord's demesne. They held at the will of the lord and worked as his steward directed them, but the number of days worked was generally determined by custom. From among them the lord chose a number of manorial officers—the reeve, who superintended the agricultural work, the haywards, who looked after the hedges erected to prevent the cattle from straying on to the arable, messors, who supervised the autumn work, beadles and constables, who attached offenders against the peace. The lords of manors who had the right of free warren in their demesnes appointed a villein as warrener to attend to the sale of rabbits and of underwood. These villeins were excused from other services and generally received a remittance of rent. The carpenter and smith also were usually villeins who gave their services in quittance of rent.¹ The villeins had to grind their corn at the lord's mill and they owed suit at the common bakehouse. They were tallaged at the will of the lord and had to make certain payments which were regarded as inseparably connected with villein status. These were heriot, a fine in money or the best head of cattle paid by the widow or son of a villein on his death,² relief, paid by the heir on

Freskeney held eighteen acres of land by homage and the serjeantry that he should go once a year on the business of his lord in England where it pleased his lord at his own expense [*Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), ii, 670], and in Great Stukeley Robert le Sumenur held by the serjeantry of making summons in the counties of Huntingdon, Cambridge and Bedford of men who owed suit at Dervorguilla de Balliol's court baron of the honour of Huntingdon [*Ibid.*, ii, 598]. Tenants in Caldecote and Conington, Huntingdon, held by charter [*Ibid.*, ii, 636, 652]. In Catworth and Toseland two tenants held in free marriage [*Ibid.*, ii, 626, 671]. There was a tenant in socage at Beachampstead [*Ibid.*, ii, 667] and two "sokemanni" paid rent at Harringworth, Northamptonshire [Ch. Inq. P.M., Edw. I, 2 (7)]. At Kempston, Bedfordshire, a "decenarius" returned half a mark yearly [Rentals and Surveys (Gen. Ser.), Portf. 5, No. 7].

¹ At Tottenham the lord appointed from among his tenants at will at the court after Christmas constables, beadles, reeves, tastatores, bailiffs and messors (Tottenham Custumal).

² In 1278 heriots were paid at Caldecote, Conington and Sawtrey, Huntingdonshire, and at Conington the widow was quit of all services for thirty days following her husband's death. At Eynesbury the widow or son of a villein succeeded to his land when he died without "gersuma" or heriot [*Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), ii, 636, 652, 663, 669].

entering his inheritance or by the purchaser of a villein holding, merchet, a payment on the marriage of a daughter, leyrwite, a fine for incontinence and redemption, a fine paid by villeins if their sons ought to be married.¹ A villein also often had to pay a fine for selling or killing his beasts.² Chevage had to be paid for licence to live outside the lord's demesne³ and a fine had to be paid by a villein if he wished to take holy orders. If a villein died without an heir his land escheated to the lord of the manor. In Tottenham the youngest son succeeded to his father's holding, and if there were no sons it was divided among the daughters. Here also widows held their husband's lands in free bench provided they were sole and continent, and widowers held their wives' lands "per urbanitatem consuetudinis manerii."⁴

The labour services performed by the villeins included the following customary works: (1) week work, that is, the regular work of cultivating the demesne performed every week throughout the year, with certain exceptions at holiday times; (2) boon works, being extra works performed at times of pressure as at harvest time. The villeins generally worked for their lord for one, two, or three days a week, but in some cases four or five. Feast days were often excepted,⁵ and in some cases there were holidays at Christmas, Easter and Pentecost.⁶ Most of the work

¹ In 1279 merchet was paid at Caldecote, Conington and Sawtrey, leyrwite at Great Stukeley and redemption at Molesworth and Great Stukeley [*Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), ii, 636, 652, 663, 598, 618].

² At Market Overton, Rutland, the villeins had to give a penny if they sold or killed a pig over a year old, a halfpenny for a pig under a year and fourpence for a male horse, and they had to give a penny if they brewed ale (Rentals and Surveys, Roll 14). The villeins at Harrold and Felmersham, Bedfordshire, could not sell a male horse without the lord's licence [*Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), ii, 329, 325].

³ At Market Overton in 1369-70 Hugh, son of Richard le Reve, paid 12d. annually for the term of his life that he might dwell outside the demesne [Mins. Accts., 964/13].

⁴ Tottenham Customal.

⁵ At Toseland, Hunts [*Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), ii, 671] and Yardley Hastings, Northants [Ch. Inq. P.M., Edw. II, F. 91 (26)].

⁶ At Conington a fortnight, at Great Paxton a week [*Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), ii, 652, 686].

necessary for the upkeep of the manor was performed by the customary tenants, and the nature of the work to be done was determined by the steward according to the necessities of the season. Ploughing was the most important work, and the villeins usually ploughed for one day a week, in the Huntingdonshire manors on Friday. Often they harrowed as much as they ploughed.¹ If a villein did not possess a plough or plough oxen he worked at the lord's will instead of ploughing.² Other week works performed by the villeins were carting services,³ reaping—generally for one or two days a week in autumn,⁴ mowing the

¹ At Molesworth the villeins ploughed every Friday except Christmas Eve, Christmas Day and the Friday before Easter, and they also ploughed one ploughing which is called "le bene" three times a year [*Ibid.*, ii, 618]. At Offord Darcy each ploughed one rood every fortnight to June 24th, except the fortnights of Christmas, Easter and Pentecost [*Ibid.*, ii, 668]. At Toseland and Great Paxton each villein had to plough five acres of land every year and at Little Paxton two acres [*Ibid.*, ii, 671, 672, 686]. The villeins of the rector of the church of Great Paxton ploughed every week half a rood of land from June 24th to August 1st [*Ibid.*, ii, 686]. At Conington the villeins harrowed as much as they ploughed and at Molesworth they harrowed for two days [*Ibid.*, 652, 618]. At Market Overton, Rutland, each villein ploughed one day a week between Michaelmas and Easter and between Pentecost and August 1st and harrowed as much as he ploughed. Between Christmas and Easter he ploughed and harrowed three roods in addition, and between Pentecost and August 1st a half acre called "foldehalvacre" [Rentals and Surveys, Roll 14].

² At Eynesbury and Hardwick, Hunts [*Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), ii, 669]. At Yardley Hastings each virgater who possessed a plough had to plough [Ch. Inq. P.M., 91 (26)]. At Kempston, Bedfordshire, five customary tenants called molmen each ploughed three ploughings if he had a whole plough. If he had no oxen he did one manual work for each ploughing [Rentals and Surveys (D. of L.), Bdle. 14, No. 3, pp. 66-7].

³ Carting services were rendered at Great Stukeley [*Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), ii, 598] and at Yardley Hastings at the lord's will [Ch. Inq. P.M., 91 (26)], at Market Overton with horse, sack and cart when required [Rentals and Surveys, Roll 14], at Great Paxton, for one day, by the villeins of William de Lay and Remigius de Melinges [*Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), ii, 686], at Abbotsley, where the villeins carted to Cambridge and Huntingdon at the will of their lord [*Ibid.*, ii, 672], and at Conington, where the villeins and cotters did carting services which involved a day's journey there and back, and if they had to spend a night away from home the lady of the manor paid their expenses [*Ibid.*, ii, 652].

⁴ At Beachampstead the villeins reaped for one day and the lord provided their food [*Ibid.*, ii, 667]. At Offord Darcy each villein reaped three roods every fortnight after August 1st and bound and carried what he reaped [*Ibid.*, ii, 668]. At Sutton, Beds, the villeins reaped

meadow,¹ making hay,² hoeing,³ washing and shearing sheep,⁴ carrying and scattering manure⁵ and binding oats.⁶ Cotters also sometimes performed week work, chiefly in autumn, when they helped with the mowing,⁷ the haymaking⁸ and the reaping.⁹ Seven cotters at Molesworth helped to gather stubble every Monday from August 1st to Michaelmas.¹⁰ At Conington they also performed carting services, and each worked at hoeing the corn for one day with one man.¹¹ At Market Overton the ten cotters who worked each found a woman to wash and shear the sheep.¹² Cotters also often performed autumn works.¹³

When the villein performed the ordinary routine of week work he worked at his own expense and provided

for three days in autumn with two men and received their food from the lord, and mowed for six days between the feast of St. John the Baptist and August 1st [Ch. Inq. P.M., Edw. III, 3 (5)]. At Braybrook, four villeins had to weed, mow and carry the corn growing on the demesne lands from the Nativity of St. John the Baptist to Michaelmas [Ch. Inq. P.M., Edw. III, 40 (6)]. At Ryhall the villeins mowed and gathered the meadow and corn of the lord in the autumn at their own expense, and at the time of the mowing they received 2s. from the lord for "le sichale" [*Ibid.*, 23 (17)]. At Conington they mowed for one day at "sichale" and the cotters scattered the grass which the villeins had mown. Each of them received a loaf of bread and a last of cheese, and among them they received fourpence for ale and a sheep or sixpence to buy flesh [*Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), ii, 652]. At Eynesbury each villein mowed one rood of meadow, and when he worked in the great meadow with his fellow villeins he worked for the whole day and received one meal [*Ibid.*, ii, 669].

¹ Molesworth, Conington and Great Paxton [*Ibid.*, ii, 618, 652, 686].

² At Molesworth [*Ibid.*, ii, 618]. ³ At Molesworth [*Ibid.*].

⁴ At Molesworth [*Ibid.*].

⁵ At Little Paxton [*Ibid.*, ii, 672].

⁶ Three villeins at Beachampstead guarded the woods at Aleden in turn [*Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), ii, 667], and at Great Stukeley each villein made a quarter and a half of malt or gave threepence [*Ibid.*, ii, 598].

⁷ At Conington, one day each week [*Ibid.*, ii, 652], Diddington [*Ibid.*, ii, 685], and at Bouton, where a cotter of John de Stokes served in the meadow for one day at John's expense [*Ibid.*, ii, 686].

⁸ At Little Paxton [*Ibid.*, ii, 672], Molesworth [*Ibid.*, ii, 618], Conington [*Ibid.*, ii, 652], and at Market Overton [Rentals and Surveys, Roll 14].

⁹ At Molesworth [*Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), ii, 618].

¹⁰ *Ibid.* ¹¹ *Ibid.*, ii, 672. ¹² Rentals and Surveys, Roll 14.

¹³ At Sawtrey four cotters worked for eight and four for four days, receiving dinner [*Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), ii, 663]. At Bouton some cotters of John de Stokes worked three days at their own expense and three days at the expense of John, and others worked one day at John's expense [*Ibid.*, ii, 686]. At Diddington two cotters worked twice a week in autumn [*Ibid.*, ii, 685]. At Market Overton ten cotters owed nine autumn works [Rentals and Surveys, Roll 14].

his own food, but at times of pressure, such as hay and corn harvests, when extra demands were made upon the villeins, the lord sometimes provided food in return for voluntary service. The week work increased at harvest time, and in addition to the week work the villeins were called upon to perform autumn "precarie" or boon works. On some manors only one boon work was rendered by each villein, but on others two, on the majority three, and on some even four were performed. Generally the villein worked with his whole family except his wife, and the lord provided the food. Sometimes he worked with two men only.¹ Free tenants and cotters also rendered boon works.² Lovebones, which were extra services demanded from the villeins in return for the food supplied at the boon works, were rendered by the villeins of Molesworth, Conington, Offord Darcy and Great Stukeley,³ and by cotters at Molesworth⁴ and Offord Darcy.⁵ Each of the villeins did one or two with one or two men, and usually had to provide their own food.

Villeins and cotters paid rents in kind, usually hens at Christmas and eggs at Easter, sometimes a goose, a loaf of bread or a dish of fish and often capons.⁶

¹ At Toseland each villein did three boon works in autumn with two men for the whole day, and each of them received a loaf of bread of wheat from one sixth of a bushel and three herrings [*Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), ii, 671]. At Barford, Bedfordshire, each villein had to do as many boonworks as the lord demanded, and he ate once with the lord [*Ibid.*, ii, 670]. At Market Overton the lord provided bread, ale and flesh at the first two boon works, and bread and herring or cheese at the third [Rentals and Surveys, Roll 14].

² Roger de Hereford's free tenants in Toseland did three boon works in autumn; one of them had to be over the reapers for a whole day in his own person and he ate at the lord's table [*Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), ii, 671].

³ *Ibid.*, ii, 598, 618, 652, 668.

⁴ Seven cotters rendered one lovebone and had a loaf of bread at supper [*Ibid.*, ii, 618].

⁵ *Ibid.*, ii, 668.

⁶ At Toseland the villeins gave one cock and two hens or 3d. at Christmas, twenty eggs or ½d. at Easter, and two geese or 4d. at the feast of St. Michael [*Ibid.*, ii, 671]. The villeins of Geoffrey le Moigne of Little Paxton gave a loaf of bread, two hens and a cock at Christmas, and the villeins, in Little Paxton, of the rector of the church of Great Paxton gave a great loaf of bread, two hens and one capon at the same term [*Ibid.*, ii, 672]. At Conington one cotter paid 12d. annually and three capons, and on the day on which he carried the capons he dined with his lord [*Ibid.*, ii, 652]. At Bouton one cotter gave a dish of fish and another two dishes weekly and each dish was valued at ½d. [*Ibid.*, ii, 686].

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries villein services were being commuted for rent, and in the latter part of the fourteenth century this commutation was very general.¹ The lord thus obtained money to hire the labour he required and the villeins were free for the greater part of the year to cultivate their own holdings or to hire out their labour. Boon services were often still exacted at harvest time, as at Market Overton, where one autumn boon work was performed as compared with three before the commutation.² Sometimes also work at the hay harvest was required.³ The work of the lord's demesne was now done by hired servants who lived on the manor, and extra help was hired when it was required. The servants living in the manor were carters, ploughmen, dairy keeper, shepherd, cowherd, swineherd and maid. The dairy keeper, who was often a woman, attended to the poultry as well as to the dairy and helped with the winnowing. The maid of the manor cooked the servants' food, and at Market Overton, where the dairy was farmed, she also helped with the winnowing. Women were also employed for washing and shearing the sheep and for certain works connected with building and repairing, such as preparing stubble and giving help to labourers. The villeins originally did most of the work of repairs and building as part of their customary services, and they had to keep their own dwellings in repair. After the commutation of services for rent, hired labour had to be called in for the repair of the manor buildings.

¹ In 1279 commutation had taken place at Caldecote and Little Paxton, Huntingdonshire, and at Abbotsley the villeins did weekwork from June 24th to Michaelmas and paid seven shillings for the work of the remaining time [*Ibid.*, ii, 636, 672, 673.]

² Rentals and Surveys, Roll 14. Mins. Accts., 964/11-13. At Little Paunton in 1326 each customary tenant did one lovebone and received food from the lord, and twenty cotters did fifty works among them and each did one lovebone, receiving food from the lord [Ch. Inq. P.M., Edw. II, 100 (9)].

³ At Doddington in 1290 [Ch. Inq. P.M., Edw. I, 57 (9)], Ryhall in 1330-1 [Ch. Inq. P.M., Edw. III, 23 (17)]. At Tottenham, Middlesex, in the fifteenth century, long after all other works had been commuted, all the customary tenants and cotters had to make hay and heap it into ricks, the lord having first had it mown and scattered. This service was called "cutmede" [Tottenham Custumal].

The artisans employed were carpenters, masons, tilers and sawyers. Unskilled men and sometimes women were employed to assist them, and carters to carry timber and other building materials.¹

The value of the land varied considerably in different manors at different times. The prices assigned to the arable vary from 2d. to 9d. per acre, 4d. being the most common value. This, however, seems to have been regarded as a somewhat low price, for an explanation is sometimes given that the land is sandy or stony.² The price of meadow was higher than that of arable, as the meadow was scarce and much in demand. It varied generally from 1s. to 4s. an acre. The meadow valued at 1s. or less was generally dry or watery.³ The value of pasture varied from 2d.

¹ See Appendix III for an account of the administration of the manor of Market Overton after the commutation of customary services.

² An acre of arable was valued at 2d. in Tottenham, 1325 [Ch. Inq. P.M., Edw. II, 91 (4)], and in Offord Darcy, 1331 [*Ibid.*, Edw. III, 27 (13)]; at 3d. in Harrold, 1324 [*Ibid.*, Edw. II, 82 (9)], Kempston, 1331 [Anc. Ext. (Exch.), No. 64], Sutton, 1335 (sandy) [Ch. Inq. P.M., Edw. III, 44 (6)], Little Paunton, 1326 [*Ibid.*, Edw. II, 100 (9)], and Caldecote, 1331 [*Ibid.*, Edw. III, 23 (16)]; at 4d. in Tottenham, 1348 [*Ibid.*, 91 (16)], Harrold, 1324-5 [Anc. Ext. (Exch.), No. 78 (1)], Houghton Conquest, 1298 [Ch. Inq. P.M., Edw. I, 83 (8)], Kempston, 1331, 1348 [Anc. Ext. (Exch.), No. 64; Ch. Inq. P.M., Edw. III, 91 (10)], Sudbury, 1333, 1334 [*Ibid.*, 37 (19)]; 38 (26)], Sutton, 1327 [*Ibid.*, 3 (5)], Glaston, 1326 [*Ibid.*, Edw. II, 100 (9)], Coleby, 1371 (land stony and sandy) [*Ibid.*, Edw. III, 22 (9)], Braybrook, 1334 [*Ibid.*, 40 (6)], Bozeat, 1335, [*Ibid.*, 44 (6)], Multon, 1334 [*Ibid.*, 37 (22)], Boughton, 1349 [*Ibid.*, 103 (14)], Caldecote, 1331 [*Ibid.*, 28 (6)], Offord Darcy, 1321 [*Ibid.*, Edw. II, 70 (7)], Great Paxton, 1344 [*Ibid.*, Edw. III, 74 (6)], Little Paxton, 1310 [*Ibid.*, Edw. II, 15 (2)], and Toseland, 1308, 1323 [*Ibid.*, 3 (5), Anc. Ext. (Exch.), No. 78 (2)]; at 6d. in Kempston, 1289-90 [Cal. Inq. P.M., Edw. I, ii, 771], Ryhall, 1331 [Ch. Inq. P.M., Edw. III, 23 (17)], North Witham, 1290 [*Ibid.*, Edw. I, 57 (9)], Braybrook, 1292 [*Ibid.*, 62 (4)], Harringworth, 1273, 1299 [*Ibid.*, 2 (7), E. Inq. P.M., (Ser. I) 5 (10)], Lilford, 1317 [Ch. Inq. P.M., Edw. II, 5 (2)], Yardley Hastings, 1348 [*Ibid.*, Edw. II, 91 (25)], and Conington, 1266 [Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland, i, 2543]; at 8d. in Little Houghton and Diddington, 1290 [Ch. Inq. P.M., Edw. I, 57 (9)]; at 9d. in Wrestlingworth, 1271 [*Ibid.*, Hen. III, 39 (8)], and Fotheringhay, 1289-90 [*Ibid.*, Edw. I, 57 (1)].

³ At Whissendine the price of meadow land sank to only 4d. an acre in 1349 and 1353 on account of the floods, the whole crop frequently being carried away by the water [Ch. Inq. P.M., Edw. III, 104 (11), 124 (4)]. In 1324-5 it had been worth 15d. and then the meadows were partly under water and full of "talpis" [*Ibid.*, 90 (10)]. Meadow land was valued at 1s. an acre at Tottenham in 1348 (dry and weak) [*Ibid.*, Edw. III, 91 (16)], Kempston, 1348 [*Ibid.*, 91 (10)], Sudbury, 1333 (watery and often flooded by the river) [*Ibid.*, 37 (19)], Sutton, 1327, 1335 (dry and poor) [*Ibid.*, 3 (5), 44 (6)], Boughton, Hunts, 1349 [*Ibid.*, 103 (14)],

to 1s. an acre, 6d. being the more usual price.¹

There is little evidence to show the effects of the Black Death upon the tenants of the honour. A large part of the population all over England died of the plague, labour became scarce and wages high in spite of attempts to keep them down by legislation. Arable land decreased in value for want of sufficient labour to till it. At Whissendine in 1353 an acre of arable land was worth only 3d. from the time of the pestilence because of the fewness of the workers,² and in 1349 nine virgates of land which were formerly in the hands of *nativi* were worth nothing because all the former tenants were dead.³ The rise of wages led in many cases, as at Market Overton in 1369-70⁴ and Sutton

and Caldecote, Hunts, 1330-1 (poor and full of "talpis") [*Ibid.*, 23 (16)]; at 18d. at Houghton Conquest, 1298 [*Ibid.*, Edw. I, 83 (8)], Kempston, 1331 [Anc. Ext. (Exch.), No. 64], North Witham, 1290 [Ch. Inq. P.M., Edw. I, 57 (9)], Bozeat, 1335 [*Ibid.*, Edw. III, 44 (6)], Caldecote, 1330-1 [*Ibid.*, 23 (16), 28 (6)], and Toseland, 1324 [*Ibid.*, Edw. II, 82 (9)]; at 2s. at Kempston, 1289-90 [*Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. I, ii, 771], Glaston, 1326 [Ch. Inq. P.M., Edw. II, 100 (9)], Little Paunton, 1326 [*Ibid.*], Oakington, 1344 [*Ibid.*, Edw. III, 74 (6)], Harringworth, 1273, 1299 [*Ibid.*, Edw. I, 2 (7); E. Inq. P.M. (Ser. I), 5 (10)], Little Houghton, 1290 [Ch. Inq. P.M., Edw. I, 57 (9)], Lilford, 1317 [*Ibid.*, Edw. II, 57 (2)], Multon, 1334 [*Ibid.*, Edw. III, 37 (22)], Yardley Hastings, 1348 [*Ibid.*, 91 (25)], Conington, 1266 [*Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, i, 2543], Offord Darcy, 1321, 1331 [Ch. Inq. P.M., Edw. II, 70 (7); Edw. III, 27 (13)], Little Paxton, 1310 [*Ibid.*, Edw. II, 15 (2)], Toseland, 1308 [*Ibid.*, 3 (5)]; at 2s. 6d. at Tottenham, 1325, 1348 [*Ibid.*, Edw. II, 91 (4); Edw. III, 91 (16)], Wrestlingworth, 1271 [*Ibid.*, Hen. III, 39 (8)]; at 3s. at Harrold, 1324 [*Ibid.*, Edw. II, 82 (9)], Kempston, 1296 [Rentals and Surveys (Gen. Ser.), 5 (7)], Ryhall, 1331 [Ch. Inq. P.M., Edw. III, 23 (17)], Braybrook, 1292 [*Ibid.*, Edw. I, 62 (4)], Fotheringhay, 1289-90 [*Ibid.*, 57 (1)]; at 3s. 4d. at Toseland, 1323 [Anc. Ext. (Exch.), No. 78 (2)]; at 4s. at Diddington, 1290 [Ch. Inq. P.M., Edw. I, 57 (9)].

¹ Pasture was valued at 2d. at Harrold, 1324 [Ch. Inq. P.M., Edw. II, 82 (9)]; at 3d. at Fotheringhay, 1289-90 [*Ibid.*, Edw. I, 57 (1)], and Yardley Hastings, 1348 [*Ibid.*, Edw. III, 91 (25)]; at 4d. at Houghton Conquest, 1298 [*Ibid.*, Edw. I, 83 (8)], and Sutton in 1327 [*Ibid.*, Edw. III, 3 (5)]; at 6d. at Sudbury, 1333, 1334 [*Ibid.*, 37 (19), 38 (26)], Lilford, 1317 [*Ibid.*, Edw. II, 57 (2)], Yardley Hastings, 1348 [*Ibid.*, Edw. III, 91 (25)], and Toseland, 1324 [*Ibid.*, Edw. II, 82 (9)]; at 8d. at Little Paunton, 1326 [*Ibid.*, 100 (9)], and Offord Darcy, 1331 [*Ibid.*, Edw. III, 27 (13)]; at 9d. at Kempston, 1296 [Rentals and Surveys (Gen. Ser.), 5 (7)]; at 10d. at Kempston, 1331 [Anc. Ext. (Exch.), No. 64], and Toseland, 1323 [*Ibid.*, No. 78 (2)]; at 12d. at Tottenham, 1325, 1348 [Ch. Inq. P.M., Edw. II, 91 (4); Edw. III, 91 (16)], Harrold, 1324 [*Ibid.*, Edw. II, 82 (9)], and Kempston, 1289-90, 1348 [*Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. I, ii, 771; Ch. Inq. P.M., Edw. III, 91 (10)]; and at 18d. at Sutton, 1335 [*Ibid.*, Edw. III, 44 (6)].

² *Ibid.*, 124 (4).

³ *Ibid.*, 104 (11).

⁴ Mins. Accts., 964/13.

in 1394,¹ to the farming of demesne lands to tenants. No decrease occurred in the value of meadow and pasture land, less labour being required to render them profitable. In the counties where the honour lands lay, sheep-shearing was carried on extensively from the second half of the fourteenth century.² The sheep also were attacked by disease and often suffered severely from the murrain, as at Market Overton in 1344-5 and 1361-2. Mills and bakehouses decreased in value owing to the high death-rate among tenants who owed suit.³

The honour included certain town holdings in Huntingdon, Cambridge, Northampton and Daventry. Rent was held in the borough of Huntingdon,⁴ and in Cambridge a half knight's fee, four librates of annual rent and a watermill were held in 1279 by Leonius Dunning. Leonius had inherited them from his father, Adam, who held them of Robert de Mortimer, and Robert held them of Robert de Bruce.⁵ In Northampton a water-mill called Burges Milne was held of John de Hastings by service of a sore sparrowhawk.⁶

The manor and town of Daventry was held of the honour by the descendants of Matilda, daughter of Simon de St. Liz, first Earl of Northampton. In the beginning of the twelfth century Walter Fitz Robert held eight hides there of the fee of the king of Scotland.⁷ This manor afterwards became one of the estates of the Duchy of Lancaster, and Bailiffs' Accounts exist from the year 1381 to 1384. Some idea of the conditions of the town dwellers of the time may be obtained from them.⁸ Towns were then agricultural as

¹ Mins. Accts. (D. of L.), 2/4.

² See articles on Social and Economic History in the Victoria County Histories.

³ At Market Overton the farm of the mill decreased from 55s. 4d. to 31s., that of the bakehouse from 16s. to 8s. and that of the market from 100s. to 26s. 8d. between 1345 and 1369 [Mins. Accts., 964/11-13].

⁴ *Cal. of Close*, 1288-96, pp. 176-7. *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, ii, 1078.

⁵ *Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), ii, 391.

⁶ *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. II, vi, 322. ⁷ V. C. H. *Northants*, i, 371.

⁸ Mins. Accts. (D. of L.), 324/5307, 324/5309-10, 324/5313.

well as trading communities, and in a manorial town lands were held in demesne and in villeinage as in the purely agricultural vills. The lord of Daventry had his park and fishery and he had free warren in his demesne lands. These lands had been let at the lord's will by Thomas Fitz Walter to tenants resident in the town. Part was let for cultivation and part in parcels on which shops or houses were erected. The site of the manor was also let in parcels and the pasture and the herbage of the meadow were sold. There were a manorial windmill, horse-mill and common bakehouse, all of which were farmed. The Priory of Daventry had thirteen shillings rent for the common bakehouse by grant of Walter, son of Simon, formerly lord of Daventry. The prior had also the right to have the grinding of all malt for brewing within the town.¹ In 1383-4 the fishery of the lord's pond was sold to divers men saving a stock of three fish.² The manorial buildings were reserved for the use of the lord. He spent the night there when he travelled on a journey through the town, and from there the manor was administered by the bailiff, who had his chamber there. Other officers, such as the auditor and receiver, doubtless resided in the manorial buildings on their visits to the manor. The buildings consisted of a chamber within the manor, a wardrobe, a hall, a chamber within the hall, a chamber above the greater gate, the bailiff's chamber, a stable and a cow-shed. The manor-house was entered by a postern with a wicket. There was an orchard surrounded by a wall and the park was surrounded by a hedge. The lord spent a night at the manor in July, 1384, arriving on horseback on his way to Richford, Essex. In preparation for his arrival in a previous year the hall and chambers were cleaned by two women, who received sixpence for their work.³ The lord's horses were often maintained in the stable when he was not resident in the manor. Two of his coursers were there for four weeks in 1382-3⁴ and six

¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1334-8, p. 440.

² *Mins. Accts.* (D. of L.), 324/5313.

³ *Ibid.*, 324/5307.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 324/5310.

for six days in 1383-4.¹ The bailiff's horses were supported throughout the winter of the latter year and also for four weeks after Michaelmas along with the mare of Hugh Waterton.² The lord had view of frankpledge and a portmoot was also held. There was a chamber called the motehall situated between two shops and let to a tenant at will. A market was held weekly and a fair every year.³

The traders who dwelt in the town were butchers, bakers, drapers, mersers and ironmongers. Each trade had its separate quarters. The butchers dwelt in the meat market, the drapers in the drapery, and near the drapery were the mersers and the ironmongers. In 1381-2 there were five shops belonging to mersers and three to ironmongers.⁴ Various other callings were followed by inhabitants of the town. There were the artisans, necessary everywhere as building and repairs are always required, and labourers, men and women, who performed the work necessary for the carrying on of everyday life. Men of various occupations are incidentally mentioned in the records. In 1387 one, John Swon of Daventry, drover, had protection to go to Ireland in the king's service in company with Robert, Duke of Ireland,⁵ and in 1388 a pardon was granted to John Wilby of Daventry, chapman, of his outlawry for not appearing to answer John Bussheye, citizen and mercer of London, touching a debt of nine pounds.⁶

The lord of the manor was responsible for the repair and upkeep of shops and other buildings as well as of the manorial buildings and mills. The drapery and bakehouse were roofed with straw at his expense in 1381-2, a new door of timber was made for the bakehouse, and the door of the shop under the motehall was repaired and the walls of the shop were daubed.⁷

The manors of the liberty of Tyndale were held

¹ Mins. Accts. (D. of L.), 324/5313.

² *Ibid.* ³ See p. 54.

⁴ Mins. Accts. (D. of L.), 324/5307.

⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1385-9, p. 278.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 486.

⁷ Mins. Accts. (D. of L.), 324/5307.

directly by their lords of the Scottish kings. There was no extensive subinfeudation as was the case with the manors of the honour of Huntingdon. The majority of them were held, as was common in England, by homage and fealty and knight service and by suit of court, the court at which they owed suit being that of Wark manor. Other manors were held by serjeantry or in drengage. Bellingham, for example, was held by a family which took its name from the manor by service of being foresters of the king of Scotland in his forest of Tyndale,¹ and the Aynstrother family held one-fourth of the manor of Hetherington by service of an archer in time of war within Tyndale.² Halghton, Humshaugh and Chirdon were held by the service of rendering a sore sparrowhawk to the manor of Wark yearly.³ A messuage and twenty-four acres of land were held in drengage directly of the king of Scotland in Hetherington,⁴ while in 1279 Hugh de Ferwithescheles held his land at Wilimotteswicke in drengage of Nicholas de Ridley.⁵

The tenants dwelling in the manors were free tenants, tenants in bondage and cottagers. The free tenants held or leased land for which they paid rent, and the bondage tenants had each a toft and land varying from twelve to thirty acres.⁶ Among the free tenants at Wark were tenants in drengage, tenants in serjeantry, tenants of assarts (land reclaimed from the waste) and tenants at will. In Grindon there were tenants in drengage and tenants at will.⁷

Doubtless the work of cultivating the lord's demesne was originally performed by the bondage tenants, but

¹ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, ii, 168, p. 52.

² *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. I, ii, 665.

³ *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. II, vi, 164, 693. ⁴ *Ibid.*, Edw. I, iii, 47.

⁵ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, ii, 168, p. 55. The widows of tenants in drengage were accustomed to make a fine for leave to remarry [*Ibid.*, ii, 557]. For an account of drengage tenure see Maitland's article in the *English Historical Review*, V, 625.

⁶ Bondage tenants held twelve acres of land in Henshaw [Ch. Inq. P.M., Edw. II, 104 (1)], sixteen acres in Snabothaugh [*Ibid.*, 93 (3)], twenty in Knaresdale, Charlton and "le Syde" [*Ibid.*, 96 (13), 97 (2)], twenty-four in Thornton and Walwick [*Ibid.*], and thirty in Wharnley [*Ibid.*] and Henshaw [*Ibid.*, Edw. III, 11 (6)].

⁷ Palgrave, *Documents*, p. 3, etc.

the earliest manorial documents extant are of the end of the thirteenth century, and by that time all services had apparently been commuted for rent. The only detailed documents relate to the demesne manors of Wark and Grindon,¹ but it may be taken for granted that the other manors were administered in a similar way. The profits of the kings of Scotland and their successors arose mainly from the demesne lands and mills of Wark and Grindon, the forge of Wark, the brewhouse of Grindon, rents of tenants, pannage of pigs, agistment of cattle in the Huntland, the herbage of the park of Wark, profits of jurisdiction and feudal incidents. The tenants of the other manors received no judicial profits, but they also had their mills, their parks and their woods. The chief expenses of administering the manors were connected with the upkeep of buildings, mills and parks and the payment of manorial officers. In 1264-6 ten shillings were spent in altering the watercourse of Wark to preserve the mill. In connection with the mill of Grindon an annual rent of four marks was paid between 1286 and 1290 to Alexander de Ros, lord of the manor of Haltwhistle, for leave for the lord of Grindon and his tenants to grind corn at the mill of Grindon in remission of suit owed to the mill of Haltwhistle. This rent was formerly paid by Gilbert de Grindon, whose son Hugh alienated the manor to Alexander III in return for land

¹ Accounts of the receipts and expenditure of the lords of the liberty exist for the dates 1264-6, 1286-7, 1286-90 and 1362-73. That of 1264-6 is a short account of Nicholas de Veteri Ponte, bailiff of Alexander III, returned to the Scottish Exchequer, and it included Tyndale only [*Exchequer Rolls, Scotland*, i, 23]. The later thirteenth century accounts were returned to the English Exchequer after the death of Alexander III, when the lands were in the hands of the English king as overlord. These were short accounts covering the years 1286-90, returned by Thomas de Normanville and entered on the Pipe Rolls [Stevenson, *Documents*, i, 1-3, 27-30, 36-39, 59-61, 192-8], and a fuller one for 1286-7 returned by the same Thomas [Palgrave, *Documents*, pp. 3-14]. These include the Cumberland lands as well as Tyndale. All of them are accounts relating to the administration of the demesne manors of Wark and Grindon, while the last accounts, drawn up by Alan de Strothere, keeper of the liberties of Queen Philippa within the demesne of Tyndale, were accounts of profits arising from feudal and judicial rights [Mins. Accts., 952/11]. Short extents of subinfeudated manors exist in Inquisitions Post Mortem.

in the Huntland, and it remained a charge upon the manor of Grindon.¹ The keeper of the park of Wark, whose duties were performed throughout the year, received a salary of 1½d. a day or 45s. 6d. yearly, and approvers who were appointed when their services were required were paid one penny a day for their expenses.

The character of the land in Northumberland was very different from that of the land held of the honour of Huntingdon in the midland and southern counties. The area of arable land was very much smaller and that of meadow and pasture very much larger. In some cases the lord had more meadow land than arable in his demesne. For example, at Alston in 1315 there were fourteen acres of arable land in demesne and a hundred acres of meadow,² and at Henshaw in 1329 there were eighty acres of arable land and a hundred acres of meadow.³ There was, too, a very large extent of waste, moor and forest land and also some barren and mountainous land in the north and south-west. Much of this was eminently suited for pasture, and in the more barren parts there might be plots of land suitable for meadows or pasture or even for cultivation. Parks and woods, hopes and shielings or slate quarries also afforded pasturage and grazing land. Plots of meadow as at Henshaw⁴ in 1328 and pasture as at Knaresdale⁵ in 1325-6 were frequently held in severalty. The chief occupation of the population of a district of this character was naturally the rearing of sheep and cattle. Weaving was carried on. The fullers of Wark returned a farm in the year 1285-6;⁶ at Alston there was a fulling mill in 1315⁷ and at Halghton in 1368.⁸ The bakers and brewers of Wark formed two classes which paid a farm to the lord and the brewhouse of Grindon was also farmed, for the profits of baking and

¹ *Rolls of Parl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 203a.

² *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. II, v, 501.

³ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, iii, 979.

⁴ *Ch. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. II, 104 (1).

⁵ *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. II, vi, 693. ⁶ Palgrave, *Documents*, i, 4.

⁷ *Cal. Inq. P.M.*, Edw. II, v, 501. ⁸ *Mins. Accts.*, 952/11.

brewing were the lord's perquisites. The brewers here, as they were in Penrith, were women (bracia-trices).¹

The prosperity of the inhabitants of Tyndale was completely destroyed by the invasions of the Scots which took place frequently during the wars of independence. By the end of the first quarter of the fourteenth century the whole district was in a deplorable condition. Manor-houses and other buildings had been burnt down, crops destroyed, pasture land laid waste, cattle driven off, men, women and children slaughtered or carried away as captives. An extent of the possessions of John Comyn of Badenagh made in 1326 gives a typical picture of the havoc wrought in the district. The manor and orchard of Tarsset, which in time of peace were worth two shillings, were now worth nothing as they lay waste and destroyed. There were thirty-eight acres in demesne which had been worth twelvepence an acre, but now only ten acres were farmed for three shillings and fourpence, and the remainder lay waste for want of tenants. A meadow, once worth ten pounds for grazing, was now only worth three shillings and fourpence. Hopes and shielings had decreased in value to the same extent. A hope called Emelhope, worth six pounds, thirteen shillings and fourpence for grazing, was now worth nothing as it lay waste and tenantless. Fourteen bondages in Charlton, each containing a toft and twenty acres, were formerly worth twenty shillings each. Now only twenty acres were farmed at six shillings and eightpence and the rest was waste and uncultivated. Of three hundred acres of land in demesne at Thornton, formerly worth twelvepence each, only twenty were farmed at six shillings and eightpence. The watermill there was broken and out of order. The vill of Newburgh alone returned its old rent.²

The materials for an account of the manorial economy of the manors of Penrith, Sowerby, Carlatton, Lang-

¹ Palgrave, *Documents*, i, 4, etc. ² *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, iii, 886.

wathby, Salkeld and Scotby are to be found in accounts of the years 1286-7, 1286-90, 1307-10, 1328-31 and 1367-71, in a rental of the year 1369-70 and in a court roll of Penrith of the year 1369.¹ There are also short entries concerning these manors in the Pipe Rolls of the reigns of Henry II, Richard I, John and Henry III, when the kings of England held them in demesne.²

Here as elsewhere the lord held his share of the arable and meadow lands in demesne and it was farmed for his profit. The tenants for the most part had their holdings in bondage and returned rents and services to the lord. In Penrith and Sowerby, however, there was a considerable number of tenants in socage, and at Penrith there were tenants in burgage and tenants in serjeantry in 1286-7. Tenants in socage are also mentioned in Scotby and Carlatton in 1286-7,³ but do not occur there again. In Scotby and Salkeld there were tenants holding land called "gresland," who apparently belonged to the same class as the cotters who are found on all the manors. In Sowerby tenants by charter paid threepence annually in the fourteenth century.⁴

Most of the arable lay in the common fields. Some part, however, was farmed in severalty in the thirteenth century. In Langwathby in 1286-7 fourteen pence was paid in rent of forlands, which were small plots of the demesne leased to tenants in severalty. There was also a considerable amount of arable land which had been enclosed from the waste and let to tenants, and was not, therefore, subject to the system of common field cultivation.

In each of the manors the lord had his watermill, at which the tenants had to grind their corn, and his brewhouse. At Penrith a bakehouse was constructed in 1223-4 at a cost of two marks.⁵ Of the two bakehouses at Sowerby one was built and the other re-

¹ Palgrave, *Documents*, pp. 3-14. Stevenson, *Documents*, i, 2, etc. Mins. Accts., 824/28-824/35. Rentals and Surveys (Gen. Ser.) R., 155-6. Court Rolls, Portf. 165.

² V. C. H. *Cumberland*, i, 338 *et. seq.*, *passim*. Parker, *Cumberland Pipe Rolls*, *passim*.

³ Palgrave, *Documents*.

⁴ Mins. Accts., 824/34.

⁵ Parker, *Cumberland Pipe Rolls*, 7.

paired in the year 1328-9.¹ Neither is ever accounted for as a source of revenue, but that of Penrith was farmed annually. There were fulling mills at Penrith, Carlatten and Sowerby. Weaving was in the fourteenth century one of the industries of these vills, particularly of Penrith, where an annual farm was paid to the lord by the dyers and weavers. Penrith was a fair-sized town, as is shown by the fact that tenants held there in burgage. In 1348 the town is described as built on purprestures.² Its cobblers paid a farm in 1370-1, as also did its brewers and bakers. The lord had the right to test weights and measures at Penrith, a right which was always farmed in the fourteenth century.³

In the Cumberland manors as in Tyndale the rearing of sheep, cattle and horses was carried on extensively in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The land was of somewhat the same character, so that much of it was suitable for pasture. Again a considerable part of the arable land had fallen out of cultivation in the fourteenth century owing to the Scottish invasions, and whenever it was possible to buy the lord's herbage it was acquired by the tenants for pasture. In 1285 several complaints were made of waste of herbage in the king's forest by the pasturing of sheep and other cattle there without permission. John de Swinburne had kept two hundred and sixty sheep in the forest in the pasture of Penrith for one year without licence, and John de Capella had made a sheepwalk at Mikilgil in the king's forest on his own ground within the liberty of the king of Scotland. The township of Sowerby was accused of wasting the herbage of certain places in the forest, including the demesne covert of Middelscoch, by grazing all kinds of beasts there since the last eyre for fourteen years, and the men of Scotby had grazed the land of Hescayth and Baroksleghtes for twenty-three years since the last eyre.⁴ Horse-breeding

¹ Mins. Accts., 824/31.

² *Cal. Pat.* 1348-50, p. 248.

³ Mins. Accts., 824/35.

⁴ *Cumb. and Westm. Antiq. and Arch. Soc. Trans.* N. S., x, 5-7.

was probably carried on at a very early date, for from 1209-13 two palfreys formed part of the farm returned by the sheriff as the increment of the farm of Sowerby.¹

The land of the manors was measured in carucates, bovates and acres. A carucate contained eight bovates, but a bovate did not always contain the same number of acres. At Penrith the bovates of the demesne contained six acres of land and meadow in 1307-10, while in 1369-70 each contained only four acres and one rood of land with three roods of meadow. The bovates held in socage contained six acres, and those in bondage ten. At Sowerby there were ten acres in the bondage bovates, at Scotby nine. At Salkeld each bovate in the demesne held five acres three roods, each bovate in bondage seven acres. A bovate at Langwathby always contained seven acres, and at Carlatton always eight acres.²

The chief crops produced appear to have been oats and barley. The farm of the manors, during the period when they were still royal demesnes of the English king, was in kind, namely, oatmeal, barley malt and oats. It is fully described in the Pipe Roll of 1234-5, and consisted of twenty-four skeps of oatmeal and eighteen skeps of malt from Penrith, twenty skeps of oatmeal and sixteen skeps of malt from Langwathby, thirty skeps of oatmeal and six skeps of malt from Salkeld, and eighty skeps of oats from Scotby; in all seventy-four skeps of oatmeal, forty skeps of malt and eighty skeps of oats. The sheriff really paid the farm to the king in money, and the sum varied from year to year according to the price of oats.³

It is evident that some change took place in the administration of the manors at the time when they were handed over to the king of Scotland. Before that they had been farmed by the sheriff and the proceeds paid into the royal exchequer. The sheriff's

¹ V. C. H. *Cumberland*, i, 404, 414.

² Mins. Accts., 824/28-834/35.

³ Parker, *Cumberland Pipe Rolls*, 54. In 1619 a skep was described as containing twelve bushels, and a bushel, by Penrith measure, sixteen gallons. See *ibid.*, Glossary.

farm comprised the ancient farm, the cornage¹ due from the villis, and the increment in the value of the manors over the ancient farm. In 1201 the men of the villis of Penrith, Langwathby, Salkeld and Scotby made an offer to the king that in return for permission to farm their own villis they should pay the ancient farm, the cornage and a fixed rent in addition. The king appears at first to have accepted this offer, but he afterwards granted the farm of the villis to William de Stuteville, the sheriff, in return for the ancient farm and twenty pounds yearly of increased rent.² The men of the villis did not, therefore, succeed in getting the administration of the demesnes into their own hands, but had to continue working under the supervision of the king's bailiff. The farm of Carlatton and Sowerby was accounted for separately until they were granted to Robert de Ros in 1218 till he should recover his land in Normandy.³ They remained in his hands till they were given to the king of Scotland with the other manors. It was the duty of the sheriff, or the king's bailiff under him, to maintain the buildings of the manor and to see that the demesnes were well stocked. G. Fitz Peter stocked the manors of Sowerby and Carlatton and thereby increased their value by fifty-eight pounds annually.⁴ The sheriff accounted for this increase from 1200 onwards. The manors, being royal demesnes, were tallaged at the king's will during this period. The rent paid by the bondage tenants at this time was twopence-halfpenny an acre, and they also performed agricultural services which are not described in any of the sources which have been examined. When the manors were granted to Alexander II they had to be extended to the extent of two hundred librates of land in order to fulfil the agreement which Henry III had made with him. To complete this extent the tenants were burdened with a payment of eightpence an acre and were relieved

¹ For account of cornage see Maitland in *English Historical Review*, V, 625.

² V. C. H. *Cumberland*, i, 388.

³ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, i, 698. ⁴ V. C. H. *Cumberland*, i, 386.

from their services. Further, as each acre was extended at one halfpenny over the extent formerly made of it, the tenants were now freed from all tallage for ever.¹ From the later accounts and the rental of 1369-70 we find that the bondage tenants of Penrith, Scotby, Salkeld and Sowerby paid eightpence an acre for their bondage holdings, and those of Carlatton and Langwathby paid threepence and one shilling respectively. In 1369-70 the only tenants who performed services were the socage and bondage tenants of Penrith, and their services were very light. Each socage tenant gave multure for thirty vessels² and pannage for ten pigs; he did suit at the court of Penrith every three weeks, carried millstones to the mill with his neighbours, roofed the mill with his neighbours and constructed the mill pond with his neighbours. Each bondage tenant did suit of court at three capital courts, gave multure for thirteen vessels, and performed all the other services of socage tenants.³

By 1286-7 the demesne lands had been divided up and let to the tenants of the manors. In Scotby and Langwathby each bondage tenant held his share of demesne land with his land in bondage. The rents of the arable land of the demesnes varied in a remarkable degree. At Penrith they were let at one shilling and fivepence an acre, at Langwathby at one shilling and one shilling and three-halfpence, at Salkeld at one shilling, at Sowerby at tenpence-halfpenny (afterwards reduced to sixpence and ultimately to fourpence-halfpenny), at Scotby at eightpence, and at Carlatton at threepence-three-farthings. The assarted land at Sowerby was rented at fourpence, sixpence, eightpence and tenpence an acre.⁴

The manors were administered by the servants of the lord, the reeves who were elected from the bondage tenants and who collected the rents, and the stewards who held the courts and sanctioned all the expenses

¹ *Rolls of Parl.* (Rec. Com.), i, 307a.

² A vessel was probably a skep. See p. 90.

³ Rentals and Surveys (Gen. Ser.) R., 155.

⁴ *Ibid.*, R., 156-824/32. Mins. Accts., 824/28.

incurred in the administration of the manors. The keeper or bailiff of the manors received the accounts of the reeves and rendered the full account of the manors. The reeve of Sowerby received a remission of nine shillings annually in quittance of rent for his services. At Penrith there was a land serjeant who received ten shillings for his expenses in 1369-70.¹

The Cumberland manors suffered from the Scottish inroads in the same way as Tyndale. Crops and buildings were destroyed and the tenants so greatly impoverished that many of them gave up their holdings and much arable land lay uncultivated for many years. Sowerby especially suffered very severely. From 1328 to 1331 more than half the demesne lands were waste. Even in 1370 they had not recovered, and, then, one half of the demesnes, namely, forty acres in Coupmanbyfield, were still waste and were farmed for four shillings annually. The land in cultivation also had decreased in value by more than one-half. The fulling mill was completely destroyed and never repaired. At Langwathby the watermill was almost destroyed, and nineteen shillings and twopence had to be spent in repairs in 1329-30. In the same year the bakehouse of Penrith and the house above it were repaired for thirty shillings, and the fulling mill of the same place was repaired for ten shillings in the following year. Where the buildings were not damaged the farms due were greatly decreased by the poverty of the tenants, and sometimes the keeper of the manors found it impossible to get anyone to farm them.²

¹ Mins. Accts., 824/34.

² *Ibid.*, 824/31-824/35.

CHAPTER VI

LOCAL CHURCH HISTORY

THE centre of the social life of the mediæval community was the parish church. The priest lived among his parishioners in a house of the same kind as theirs, generally, for convenience, built near the church. He, too, had, as a rule, his strips in the common field mingled with theirs, and therefore shared in the agricultural life of the vill. By virtue of his priestly office he was the villagers' guide in spiritual matters and in the conduct of life. He was also a connecting link between them and the outside world. He made known to them from the pulpit any new laws or regulations which might affect their lives. In the church he announced all sorts of local official notices, published the banns of marriage, announced the deaths of parishioners, pronounced sentence of excommunication on offenders against church law and morality. There, also, public penance was performed and all offences against social order committed by dwellers in the district were made known to the people.

The parish priest performed the church services, administered the sacraments, taught the people on matters of belief and practice, and visited the aged and the sick. His teaching consisted chiefly of instructions on the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Evangelical Precepts, the Seven Deadly Sins, the Seven Principal Virtues and the Seven Sacraments.¹ On Sunday the services attended by the majority of the people were matins, high mass and evensong. The remainder of the day was spent in rest and recreation. No work was done except what was absolutely necessary. Sunday was the day on which the

¹ Gasquet, *Parish Life*, chapter X. See also Richardson, *Parish Clergy of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (R. Hist. Soc. *Trans.*, Third Ser., vi, 89).

priest visited the aged and the sick.¹ Mass was performed every morning in most parish churches² and every day the angelus bell rang morning and evening, in summer at four in the morning and nine in the evening, and in winter at six and eight. Then everyone paused in his occupation and said a prayer in remembrance of Christ's incarnation.³ Donations were often given for additional masses to be said, many of them taking the form of the endowment of chantry priests to pray for the souls of the donor and his departed family. Among such foundations in churches held of the honour were a chantry founded in the private chapel of Bernard de Bruce at Exton in the thirteenth century,⁴ a chantry founded in a chapel outside the church of Fotheringhay by a member of the Balliol family for a priest to be found by the Abbey of Sawtre to celebrate at the Hermitage on Monday, Wednesday and Friday every week for the souls of John Balliol and his ancestors,⁵ a chantry founded in the church of Elstow before 1277,⁶ and another founded there in 1349 by Thomas atte Brugge, rector of Camp-ton.⁷ The security of their own spiritual welfare and that of their family was not the only object sought by those who made such endowments. The chantry priest was expected to help the parish priest with the services, and often one of the objects of the donation was to provide alms for the poor. In 1346 Reginald de Grey, knight, and John de Ravele had licence to alienate in mortmain to Eustace, vicar of the church of Paxton, a plot of land a hundred feet long and fifty feet broad, and a messuage and eight acres of land in Toseland and in Great Paxton respectively, towards finding a chaplain to celebrate divine service on three days in the week in the chapel of St. Mary, Toseland, "for the good estate of the said Reginald, John and Alice his wife, for their souls when they are dead and

¹ Gasquet, *Parish Life*, pp. 152-9. ² *Ibid.*, 144. ³ *Ibid.*, 162.

⁴ V. C. H. *Rutland*, i, 145.

⁵ V. C. H. *Northants*, ii, 574. This chantry was probably founded by the Lady Dervorguilla, who made frequent religious endowments in memory of her husband.

⁶ V. C. H. *Beds*, i, 325.

⁷ *Ibid.*

for the souls of their fathers, mothers and other ancestors, and to bestow on the poor on each anniversary day of the said John and Alice sevenpence of bread."¹ Land in one parish was sometimes alienated to provide a chantry in the church of another parish. On June 30th, 1385, licence for fifty marks was paid to the king by John de Buckingham, Bishop of Lincoln, for John Holt and others to alienate in mortmain a moiety of an acre of land in Lilford and the advowson of the church to the warden of a chantry called "Burghwhaschaunterie" in St. Mary's, Lincoln, for finding two chaplains to celebrate divine service therein daily for the good estate of the said bishop and for his soul after death and for the souls of his father, mother, brothers, sisters, ancestors and others, and to support other services as he shall see fit to ordain. The licence never took effect, but the land and advowson were by licence assigned to the dean and chapter of St. Mary's, Lincoln, on March 26th.² The college of Fotheringhay, founded by Edward, Duke of York, was a chantry on a large scale, and consisted of a master, eleven fellows, eight clerks and thirteen choristers. A grammar school was part of the college and the grammar master was one of the fellows.³ Often chantry priests attached to parish churches performed the duty of teaching boys their letters.

Another similar grant which came to be used for educational purposes was that of Mary de St. Paul, Countess of Pembroke, in Whissendine. On March 15th, 1346, she had licence to alienate lands there and elsewhere in mortmain to the abbey and convent of Westminster to find two monks as chaplains, beyond the monk already there, to celebrate divine service daily in the church of St. Peter in the abbey, for the good estate of the king and of herself, for their souls when they were dead and for the soul of Aymer de Valence, late Earl of Pembroke, Mary's late husband. This licence was afterwards surrendered and another licence made

¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1345-8, p. 169. ² *Ibid.*, 1385-9, p. 9.

³ V. C. H. *Norhants*, ii, 223.

for the grant of the lands to the warden and scholars of a hall of Valence Mary founded in the University of Cambridge.¹ The abbot and convent of Neusum had a cell and eleven bovates of land in the vill of Norton, Lincoln, given by Adam Dysney in order that the abbot and monks might maintain a chaplain in the cell to celebrate mass every day for the souls of his ancestors and successors.²

Brotherhoods, also, were formed for the purpose of maintaining extra services. At Daventry a brotherhood of the Holy Cross was founded in 1383 to find thirteen wax tapers burning before the Holy Cross and for a chaplain to celebrate the morrow mass for labourers and wayfarers. The brotherhood was in the parish church and was governed by two masters.³ The morrow mass celebrated early in the morning for labourers and wayfarers was a frequent subject of endowment.

When the parish church belonged to a lay lord of the manor the priest was a rector. He held the benefice as his freehold and to him were paid the tithes which he used for his own support, to keep up the chancel, choir books and other necessities for the church services, and to relieve the poor, strangers and wayfarers. His other sources of revenue were offerings for services such as baptisms and marriages and oblations on certain festivals. But often the parish church had been granted to some monastery or priory and the tithes and offerings were received by the monks or nuns. This was considered a perfectly legitimate thing, because they were religious persons, and tithes and offerings were given for religious purposes. They had, however, to appoint a cleric to do the parish work and to give him a sufficient stipend to enable him to perform his duties well. In order to insure this the church councils of the early thirteenth century ordered that vicars should be presented by the monasteries and instituted by the bishops, and a

¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1345-8, p. 61.

² *Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.), i, 284. ³ V. C. H. *Northants*, ii, 275.

sufficient sum provided for their support from the tithes. This sum was to be made up from the lesser tithes and oblations, and was supposed to amount to five marks. The vicar was, in addition, to have a competent manse. The majority of the manors held of the honour were in the diocese of Lincoln, where Bishop Hugh of Wells was energetic in the institution of vicarages between 1209 and 1235. By the end of his episcopate the following vicarages within the honour had been instituted: Kempston and Harrold, (Bedfordshire); Stukeley (Huntingdonshire); Fotheringhay, Bozeat, Wollaston, Preston Deanery, Horton, Brayfield, Hardingstone, Daventry and Moulton (Northamptonshire);¹ Evington, Foxton, Loseby, Cosby and Owston (Leicestershire).² The churches of Daventry and Harrold were conventual and the arrangements made there were rather different from the usual ones. At Daventry the vicar was to have the necessary food for himself and his boy in the priory, a mark annually for stipend and his second legacy up to sixpence—beyond that he and the monks were to share. He was to have also all petitions and mass pennies for the whole parish except in Welton (where he was to have a chaplain), with a competent manse outside the priory gate. The monks were to find him a deacon and support all the burdens of the church.³ The vicar of Harrold was to eat at the prioress's table, to receive a sum of two marks for his clothing, and the oblations at great festivals. He was to have a manse either within or without the priory enclosure as was most convenient for the parishioners, and he was to be provided by the prioress with a deacon and a boy to serve his mass;⁴ and the vicar of Owston was to have for himself and his deacon sufficient food at the table of the canons and twenty shillings for his stipend and that of his deacon and forage for his palfrey, with a competent manse outside the gate of the abbey.⁵

¹ Gibbons, *Liber Antiquus*, pp. 12, 23 et passim.

² V. C. H. *Leicester*, i, 358. ³ Gibbons, *Liber Antiquus*, 37. ⁴ *Ibid.*, 25.

⁵ *Rotuli Hugonis de Welles* (Cant. and York Soc.), ii, 275.

Priest and people shared in the upkeep of the church, the priest being responsible for the repair of the chancel and the parishioners for that of the nave. The parishioners also had to care for the upkeep of the church services and of the churchyard. They seem to have done their share on the whole willingly and gladly, and to have taken delight in beautifying their parish church. We hear much, too, of the devotion of the artificers who fashioned church furniture and ornament and of the loving care which they bestowed upon their work. Nevertheless it appears that on occasion the assistance of outsiders had to be secured for the repair of a church. This was done by the offer of indulgences. In the time of Bishop Dalderby (1300-20) indulgence was granted for the repair of the south aisle of the church of Fotheringhay and to visitors to the altar of Our Lady at Lilford and the Lady Chapel at Moulton.¹

In many outlying hamlets there were chapels served by the mother church, and private chapels belonging to rich laymen were common in the thirteenth century. One existed at an early date at Daventry, presumably founded by Walter Fitz Robert, son of Matilda, daughter of Simon de St. Liz. The chaplains received a tenth of the profits arising from the masses sung there, and accounted for the other nine-tenths to the sacrist of the priory. In return for this Walter granted the oblations due from himself and his family to the support of the lamps in the priory church.² It appears that the prior and convent later disputed the right of the lords of Daventry to have a private chapel, for in 1284 an agreement was made between the prior and Robert Fitz Walter and Petronilla his wife. This agreement strictly limited the services to be performed in the chapel and stipulated that all the expenses connected with maintaining the chaplain were to be borne by Robert and Petronilla, while all the offerings made in the chapel were to be handed over to the priory. Religious offices were to be celebrated in the chapel.

¹ V. C. H. *Northants*, ii, 24.

² *Ibid.*, ii, 110.

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only for themselves, their family and guests. Mass was not to be celebrated on Whit Sunday, St. John Baptist day or the day of the dedication of the church of Daventry, nor High Mass on Christmas day, Candlemas day or Easter day, and confessions were not to be heard except at the point of death. The privilege of having a private chapel was not to descend to the children of Robert and Petronilla.¹

The manor of Harrold, Bedfordshire, also had its private chapel. The mansion-house was at some distance from the church, and there was a difficulty in getting there in winter. On these grounds licence was granted in 1290 to Ralph Morin to have an oratory in his manor.² Special chantry chapels were built in the churchyards of Elstow and Wilshampstead, but the majority of chantries were appended to parochial or domestic chapels.³

The bishops confirmed the children, and, in the diocese of Lincoln, Bishops Grosseteste and Dalderby made frequent visitations both for this purpose and for the reform of abuses which inevitably arose. At the time of such visitations the parochial clergy were bidden to bring their parishioners together and to bring the children to be confirmed. Bishop Grosseteste forbade abuses such as the sale of goods in consecrated ground and the performance of plays or games in the churches or churchyards. He interested himself also in the personal and material welfare of his flock. One of his precepts to the clergy was that they should warn mothers and nurses against overlaying children.⁴ Bishop Dalderby forbade the veneration of a well of St. Thomas the Martyr which stood in the field of Hackleton in Piddington parish.⁵ Other abuses which were a subject of censure on the part of most of the bishops of the time were the farming of rectories, the marriage of the clergy, the presentation of unfit persons to livings and the holding of livings by clerks who were not priests. Non-residence of the

¹ V. C. H. *Northants*, ii, 111.

² *Ibid.*, *Beds*, iii, 67.

³ *Ibid.*, i, 326.

⁴ *Ibid.*, *Lincs*, ii, 27.

⁵ *Ibid.*, *Northants*, ii, 25.

clergy was common in the early fourteenth century, many of them obtaining licences to study or to go on pilgrimage. Many licences to study were granted by Bishop Grosseteste to clerks who were presented to benefices before they were sufficiently prepared. In every such case the clerk had to provide a substitute. Stephen de Holewell, who was presented to the church of Caldecote before 1219, was enjoined to study in the schools, to cause himself to be taught singing and to appoint a suitable chaplain during his absence on pain of being deprived of the benefice.¹ John de Berewic, deacon, on his presentation to the church of Molesworth in 1221-2, was granted an indulgence to attend the schools at Lincoln for two years. Meanwhile he was to appoint a suitable chaplain to serve the church.² John de Rowell, an acolyte, was instituted to the parsonage of Little Bowden in 1224-5. He was a sub-deacon and was bidden to attend the schools.³ A case of excommunication occurred before 1219 in respect of John de Beauchamp, the incumbent of the mediety of Houghton Conquest. He was excommunicated by the authority of the pope for his manifold contumacy and deprived of all ecclesiastical benefices.⁴ In 1232 the vicar of Little Houghton, Northamptonshire, Peter de Norhamptonia, was deprived of the vicarage for contumacy, because, when summoned at the bishop's orders he did not come and did not reside personally and minister in his office.⁵

In the fourteenth century the mendicant friars became the competitors of the parish priests in the matter of hearing confessions. Bishop Grosseteste encouraged them to enter his diocese,⁶ and in 1318 Bishop Dalderby licensed a hundred and four Dominicans, sixty-three Franciscans and sixteen Austin Friars to hear confessions throughout the diocese, but unlicensed friars were forbidden either to hear confessions or to preach.⁷

¹ *Rotuli Hugonis de Welles* (Cant. and York Soc.), i, 49.

² *Ibid.*, iii, 35.

³ *Ibid.*, ii, 118.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i, 113.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ii, 270.

⁶ V. C. H. *Lincs*, ii, 32.

⁷ *Ibid.*, *Northants*, ii, 25.

Some of the clergy of the diocese were influenced by the doctrines of lollardism prevalent in the fifteenth century. John Franke, rector of Yardley Hastings, preached publicly against pilgrimages and the adoration of images and had to make a formal abjuration of his errors.¹

Many religious houses were founded by the lords of the land after the Norman Conquest, and the earls of Huntingdon and their tenants were not behindhand in making such foundations. On the soil of the honour stood the Cluniac priories of St. Andrew, Northampton, and St. Augustine, Daventry, the Cistercian abbey of Sawtrey, the Augustinian houses of Owston Abbey and Harrold Priory, a house of nuns, and the Benedictine nunnery of Elstow. A house of Cluniac nuns had been founded at Fotheringhay by the second Earl Simon, but was afterwards removed to Delapré Abbey near Northampton. Many donations of lands, mills, tithes, and churches were made to these and other houses outside the honour by the earls and their tenants.² Alms were also given by the pious to help the necessities of the poorer houses, and sometimes these were solicited by the offer of indulgences. In 1201 Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, offered a remission of fifteen days' penance to those in the dioceses of Lincoln and Lichfield who should give their alms for the repair of the church of Daventry,³ and in 1271 Fulco, Archbishop of Dublin, granted an indulgence to benefactors of the priory.⁴ Men and women entered the monasteries in order to withdraw themselves from society and live a religious life. Nevertheless they had a considerable amount of intercourse with those who dwelt around them. The chief relation between the monastery and the villagers was that of landlord and tenants, the villeins on the monastic estates owing the same works and services as those on the estates of the lay lords. It was the duty of the monasteries to give alms to the poor and

¹ V. C. H. *Northants*, ii, 30.

² V. C. H. *Northants*, ii, 110.

³ See chapter II.

⁴ *Ibid.*

to entertain guests and pilgrims. In order to prevent abuse of their hospitality a limit had to be set to the length of time which guests might spend at the monastery. This was generally fixed at two nights. In some cases boarders were received. This was the case at the nunnery of Elstow. The nuns, who were of high social position, appear to have welcomed the visits of their fashionable friends to the monastery. Complaints of worldliness and lack of discipline were brought against them, and they were forbidden to entertain any secular persons except girls under ten and boys under six. These children were taught by the nuns and there had been a school for them in the monastery from an early date.¹ In 1325 Margaret, the mother of Roger Mortimer, who was intriguing against Edward II, was sent to dwell at Elstow with her servants at her own expense. She was not to be allowed outside the gate of the convent.²

Hermitages existed at Fotheringhay, Ryhall and Tottenham. That of Fotheringhay was under the patronage of Sawtrey Abbey and was in existence before 1176, when the Pope confirmed it to the abbey. That of Ryhall dated from the seventh century and its patron was St. Tibbe, while the hermitage of Tottenham is not mentioned before 1408, when it was under the patronage of the Prior of Holy Trinity.³ Edwin the hermit dwelt at Higney in the marsh between Ramsey Abbey and Sawtrey in 1153 and had made a turning bridge across the dyke which he had built around his house. He had begun to build another dyke because shepherds had tried to burn the house. But the men of Sawtrey hindered him and drove him away. He was, however, afterwards permitted to make the dyke.⁴ There was an anchorage at the church of Kempston in 1242-3 under the patronage of Elstow Abbey. A chaplain was presented by the abbess and convent, who were to find him food and clothing as long as he lived.⁵

¹ V. C. H. Beds, i, 355. ² *Ibid.*, iii, 281. *Cal. Close*, 1323-27, p. 533.

³ Clay, *Hermits and Anchorites*, pp. 230-1, 236-7, 242-3.

⁴ *Cart. Mon. Rames* (Rolls), i, 162. ⁵ *Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste*, i, 320.

In Tyndale there were parish churches at Alston, Knaresdale, Kirkhaugh, Haltwhistle, Whitfield and Simonburn. Those of Knaresdale, Kirkhaugh and Whitfield were in lay hands,¹ and also that of Simonburn so long as the kings of Scotland were in possession.² The church of Alston, with the chapel at Gerard's Gill, had been granted to Hexham Priory at a very early date by Ivo de Veteri Ponte.³ The revenues of the living were not, however, appropriated to them till 1378, and it was not till 1420 that a proper endowment of the vicarage was made.⁴ Haltwhistle church was granted to the Abbot of Arbroath by William the Lion. The revenues were appropriated at an early date and a perpetual vicarage endowed.⁵ The property of this church suffered severely at the hands of the Scots, and Robert de Pykwell, the vicar, was carried into captivity. In 1311 he had a licence to let the vicarage to farm for one year to pay for his redemption.⁶ As late as 1314, when the moiety granted to Edward I by the clergy was collected, nothing could be obtained from the vicarage of Haltwhistle because everything had been destroyed and carried away by the Scots, who still remained in the neighbourhood, so that no one dared go near the place.⁷ The church was taken into the king's hands on account of the wars with Scotland, but was restored in 1329, peace having been made by the treaty of Northampton in the previous year.⁸

Several of the parish priests appointed to churches in Tyndale received licences to attend the schools during the fourteenth century. Such a licence was granted to Thomas, rector of the church of Whitfield in 1312,⁹ and in 1313 Hugh de Swynburn, who was appointed rector of the church of Knaresdale while still a subdeacon, received a licence to attend the schools for five years.¹⁰ A licence for one year for the same Hugh was repeated in 1314,¹¹ but in 1316 excep-

¹ *Reg. Pal. Dun.*, i, 439; iii, 95-6, 480. ² See chapter I.

³ *Cal. Ch. R.*, i, 171. ⁴ *Hexham Priory* (Surtees Soc.), ii, p. ix.

⁵ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, iii, 976. *Cal. Pat.* 1327-30, p. 394.

Reg. Pal. Dun. (Rolls), i, 95-6. ⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, ii, 1023.

⁸ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, iii, 985.

⁹ *Reg. Pal. Dun.* (Rolls), i, 196.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 442.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 608.

tion was taken to his appointment because he had not attained the age of twenty-five years and had not been ordained priest within a year from his presentation.¹ Another rector of Knaresdale, John de Clisseby, was in 1340 given permission to absent himself for study at Oxford or another University.² An extra priest was established in Whitfield in 1333, when Robert de Whitfield obtained a licence from John Darcy "le cosyn," late lord of the liberty of Tyndale, to alienate in mortmain to Thomas de Whitfield, parson of the church of Whitfield, a messuage and thirty-one acres of land in Whitfield for the sustenance of a chaplain to celebrate divine service daily in the said church for the souls of the said Robert, his ancestors and the faithful departed. This licence was confirmed by Queen Philippa in 1336.³ Here, as in the honour, the parish clergy were supplemented as preachers and confessors by the friars. In 1353 Carmelite friars were licenced to preach in the diocese of Durham by Bishop Hatfield, and friars and others were frequently licensed to hear confessions.⁴

An example of how the church sometimes summoned the help of the secular authorities to punish those who were unaffected by ecclesiastical penalties occurred in 1313. Certain persons dwelling in the parish of Simonburn had incurred the sentence of greater excommunication and had remained contumacious. The Bishop of Durham addressed a letter to Edmund de Mauley, lord of the liberty, demanding the apprehension of the persons named in the letter.⁵

There was no religious house within the liberty, but the priory of Hexham held considerable property there.⁶

When Henry III granted the Cumberland manors to King Alexander he retained the churches,⁷ but afterwards they came into the hands of the kings of Scotland, who retained the right of presentation until

¹ *Reg. Pal. Dun.* (Rolls), ii, 791.

² *Ibid.*, iii, 307.

³ *Cal. Pat.* 1334-8, p. 331.

⁴ V. C. H. *Durham*, ii, 20.

⁵ *Reg. Pal. Dun.* (Rolls), i, 291.

⁶ See chapter III.

⁷ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, i, 1575.

they forfeited their English lands.¹ A vicarage was endowed at Penrith at an early date.² The churches of Penrith, Sowerby, Carlatten and Salkeld suffered at the hands of the Scots during the first part of the Scottish wars of independence, and a remission of a third of the taxation levied on the churches of the diocese of Carlisle was granted them in 1302.³ The church of Sowerby was appropriated to the prior and convent of Carlisle in 1307, partly on account of the impoverishment of the convent through the Scottish invasions and the hospitality they had shown to the royal army and others passing through the town, but chiefly for the repair of the Cathedral, which had been destroyed by the great fire of 1292. A vicarage was ordained to be held by one of their canons, who was to serve the church by a secular priest.⁴ In the following year the church of Carlatten was appropriated to the Prior and Convent of Lanercroft mainly on account of their losses and their ruined state through the Scottish war, and a vicarage was ordained.⁵

The chief work of the chantry priest endowed by Bishop Strickland in the church of Penrith was to teach music and grammar for a salary of six pounds a year. There had been a grammar school in the town before this, however. In 1340 Bishop Welton granted a licence to John de Eskeheved, clerk, to teach the art of grammar, and in 1361 Robert de Burgham, chaplain, had a licence to teach boys the psalter, Priscian's grammar and singing. After the dissolution of the chantries the above mentioned sum of six pounds was received by the Crown until the reign of Queen Elizabeth, who on the petition of the inhabitants of the town founded and endowed a free grammar school.⁶

The fabric of the churches must have suffered greatly from the Scottish inroads, and the cost of the upkeep

¹ *Register of John de Halton* (Cant. and York Soc.), i, 8.

² *Ibid.*, ii, 170.

³ *Ibid.*, i, 195-6.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i, 277.

⁵ *Ibid.*, i, 299-300.

⁶ Nicholson and Burn, *Cumberland*, ii, 410-11.

must have been considerable. Many bequests were made for this purpose from the middle of the fourteenth century. In 1362 John Marschall, vicar of Edenhall, made bequests for the roofing of the church of Penrith and the chapel of Langwathby,¹ in 1362 Nicholas de Motherby of Sowerby left two shillings for the roofing of the church of Sowerby,² and in 1364 William de Routhbury, Archdeacon of Carlisle, bequeathed forty shillings for the roofing of the chancel of the church of Salkeld and the repairs of the windows.³ Bequests were also made for lights in the various churches, for a chalice in the chapel of Langwathby, for the vault of the Blessed Mary in the church of Sowerby, for the work of the Holy Cross in the same church and for the repair of bridges.⁴ But voluntary gifts and bequests were not always sufficient for the last mentioned work, for in 1360 Bishop Welton issued an indulgence of forty days to all who should contribute to the repair of the bridge over the Eden at Salkeld, which had been washed away by floods.⁵

A house of Austin Friars was established in Penrith before the end of the thirteenth century. It was probably founded in 1291, when John de Capella obtained a licence to alienate in mortmain a messuage in Penrith to the Prior and Augustinian Friars of Newcastle-on-Tyne.⁶ In 1318 they had a further grant of land for the extension of their house from John de Penrith, and in 1331 and 1333 John de Crumbervell made them a grant of tenements and lands.⁷ Bequests of money were made to them in 1364 by William de Routhbury, Archdeacon of Carlisle, "for his soul," and in 1380 by John de Dundrawe.⁸ In 1369 William de Layton of Newbiggin bequeathed his body to be buried in their church,⁹ and in 1400 Richard le Scrop, lord of Bolton, left twenty shillings to them as well as to every house of friars in Carlisle

¹ *Testamenta Karleolensia*, 64-5. ² *Ibid.*, 70-1. ³ *Ibid.*, 74. ⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Nicholson and Burn, *Cumberland*, ii, 415.

⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1281-92, p. 441. ⁷ V. C. H. *Cumberland*, ii, 194-5.

⁸ *Testamenta Karleolensia*, 74, 136. ⁹ *Ibid.*, 90.

and Appleby.¹ But the friars did not obtain sufficient support from voluntary alms for the maintenance of their house, and, in order to induce the faithful to contribute more liberally, they started a light in their church in honour of the Nativity of the Saviour and of the Blessed Mary. The light was to burn when mass was sung on the feast of the Nativity every year. An indulgence for forty days was granted by the Bishop to all who should go to the church to hear mass on that day or who should give alms for the keeping up of the light.²

¹ V. C. H. *Cumberland*, ii, 197.

² *Ibid.*, ii, 198-9.

CHAPTER VII

STATE OF SOCIETY

LITTLE definite information exists as to the daily lives of the inhabitants of the honour and liberty apart from an account of the labours of the villeins on the manorial estates. The earls of Huntingdon and their tenants in chief would visit their demesne manors from time to time with their retinues of knights, esquires, clerks and servants. There they were maintained on the manorial produce and waited on by the manorial servants and villeins. Their parks were well stocked with deer and their chief occupation would be hunting. Tournaments were sometimes organized by the greater barons, but they were frowned upon by the authorities as dangerous to life and limb. Henry III forbade tournaments which had been arranged to take place at Yardley Hastings in 1234 and 1235 when John le Scot was Earl of Huntingdon.¹ But the earls and their tenants found plenty of opportunities of indulging their military tastes. They took their part in foreign wars, in crusades and in rebellions. David I took part in the civil wars of Stephen's reign,² and his successors, Malcolm and William, followed Henry II in his campaigns in France.³ The Scottish king and David, Earl of Huntingdon, joined the young King Henry's revolt against his father in 1173-4.⁴ Richard de Morville in that war commanded a division of the Scottish army at Alnwick,⁵ and Sayer de Quinci, Earl of Winchester, also joined in the rebellion.⁶ Among

¹ *Cal. Pat.*, 1232-47, pp. 62, 133.

² Anderson, *Scottish Annals*, 170 *et seq.*

³ Lawrie, *Annals of Malcolm and William*, 43, 44, 112-15.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 122 *et seq.* ⁵ *D. N. B.* ⁶ *G. E. C. Peerage*,

the adherents of the barons in their revolt against King John were Henry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, Sayer de Quinci, Earl of Winchester, and his son Roger,¹ David, Earl of Huntingdon, Richard D'Umfraville, Henry Murdac, Lambert Bussi,² Henry de Braybrook and Wischard Ledet.³ The Earl of Winchester joined the crusade after the death of King John,⁴ and the Earl of Hereford died on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land on January 1st, 1220.⁵ In the barons' war among the adherents of Simon de Montfort were Henry de Hastings, Sir Ralph de Camoys of Great Stukeley, Robert Burdett of Loseby, Bernard de Bruce of Exton, Hugh le Despenser of Ryhall, Semanus de Stokes of Barton, Henry de St. Maur of Diddington, and Robert, son of Walter of Daventry.⁶ The subtenants, too, may have taken part in civil war or rebellion or in the expeditions against France. They generally held their land by military service and, therefore, in early days, were bound to follow the king to war. Later the introduction of scutage removed this necessity, and the lord of the manor might devote himself chiefly to managing his estate and also take his part in local government if he chose to do so. John Conquest of Houghton Conquest, for example, was appointed in 1306 as collector in Bedfordshire of the subsidies granted to the king, and in 1314 he was appointed a conservator of the peace during the absence of the king with the army in Scotland. He was also coroner, but had to resign that office in 1319 owing to ill-health.⁷ But love of violence was widespread among all classes of the community. Men knew no other way of composing their differences than by attacking the persons or property of their opponents.

Robberies were frequently perpetrated on a large scale by bands of men often led by persons of some

¹ G. E. C. *Peerage*. ² V. C. H. *Rutland*, i, 171.

³ D. N. B.

⁴ G. E. C. *Peerage*.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Cal. Misc. Inq.*, 610, 715, 771, 784, 806, 833, 327. V. C. H. *Rutland*, i, 173. *Cal. Pat.* 1266-72, pp. 204-5. The share taken by the tenants of Tyndale in the Scottish wars has been described in chapter III.

⁷ V. C. H. *Beds*, iii, 290.

position and standing in the community, sometimes apparently in pursuance of some feud or quarrel. Such a quarrel took place in 1339 between the Abbot of Lavendon and Simon of Norwich, who held in Lavendon of the honour. Simon had impounded some cattle in his fee for default of service, and the abbot had, according to Simon's accusation, rescued the cattle, broken Simon's close, houses and doors, assaulted him and carried away his goods. Simon retaliated by preventing the abbot's tenants from going to his court leet, impounding his sheep, threatening his servants, burying a boat with nets for taking fish in his fishery and compelling his men to refuse to serve him.¹ A quarrel of long standing seems to have existed between the priors of Daventry and the lords of the manor, who were also patrons of the priory. In 1294 the prior complained that Walter, son of Robert of Daventry, John, son of Philip of Daventry, and others broke the underground conduit passing through the middle of his ground to the priory, carried away his goods and assaulted William de Stok, a monk, and two servants.² Later the prior appears to have been the aggressor, for in 1340 Robert of Daventry complained that Peter, prior of Daventry, and others broke his close and house at Daventry and carried away the timber from the house and other goods.³ The lords of Daventry evidently found it difficult to live at peace with their neighbours. In 1316 Walter, son of Robert of Daventry, accused John of Daventry, his sons and others of having broken his close at Daventry, carried away his goods and chattels and assaulted his men and servants.⁴ Parsons were frequent offenders. In 1365 Gilbert, parson of the church of Chesterton, and others, including William Belloc, parson of the church of Conington, were accused of having broken the close, houses and chests of Thomas, Abbot of Sawtrey, driven away twelve horses, eighteen oxen, twenty-four swine and a hundred sheep of his,

¹ V. C. H. *Bucks*, i, 385.

² *Cal. Pat.* 1292-1301, p. 116.

³ *Ibid.*, 1338-40, p. 497.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1313-17, p. 599.

worth sixty pounds, carried away his goods, a hundred florins worth fifty marks and twenty pounds in money by tale and assaulted his men and servants.¹ Thomas de Stapelho complained in 1379 that Philip, parson of the church of Houghton, John Repinghale of Catworth and others broke his close and houses at Conington, mowed his grass, fished in his several fishery, took his fish, burned his houses, depastured his corn and grass at Stilton, threatened his servants and abducted his bondmen, John and Walter Devyle and Richard Ouewyn.² On February 1st, 1408, a commission of oyer and terminer was appointed to examine into the complaint of the Abbess of Elstow that Adam de Spritlington and others had gone "armed to Elstow, assailed her close and house there with ladders, axes, bows, arrows and other engines, by night, broken the close and house, assaulted, wounded and illtreated John Botiller, her servant there, carried off Agnes Crokebarowe, her servant, and threatened her men and servants."³

Poaching and offences against the forest laws were common.⁴ In 1306 certain persons entered the park and free chase of John de Hastings at Yardley Hastings and his warren in his copse of Barton, hunted therein and carried away deer and hares and cut down and carried away trees in the copse.⁵ Again in 1309 the park and chase were entered and robbed.⁶

Crimes of violence were common, especially robbery with violence and murder. Many such crimes committed in lands held of the honour in Northamptonshire and Bedfordshire were presented before the itinerant justices between the years 1329 and 1341.⁷ At Harringworth John le Eyr of that place was slain by night by his wife, Matilda Pane and others and buried in his own house behind the door. The murderers are described as vagabonds.⁸ Three murders took place at Fotheringhay between 1334 and 1336.

¹ *Cal. Pat.*, 1364-7, pp. 207-8.

² *Ibid.*, 1405-8, p. 417.

³ *Cal. Pat.* 1301-7, p. 540.

⁴ *Ancient Indictments* K. B. 9, F. 1, F. 90.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1377-81, p. 419.

⁶ See p. 19.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1307-13, p. 241.

⁸ *Ibid.*, F. 90.

In the latter year a stranger was slain there by William Hastings of Wakerley and William Shepeshere, who were presented as common robbers.¹ The mill of Yardley, near Potterspury, was destroyed and robbed and a man found by the robbers was slain in 1331.² At Tottenham, Middlesex, between the years 1344 and 1349 there were three robberies accompanied by violence. The chief offender here was Robert de Hadham, the king's escheator in Middlesex. He seems to have been a particularly violent and unscrupulous man, and was guilty of several serious crimes as well as that of diverting the king's profits into his own hand during the tenure of his office. He was accused of assaulting and causing the death of two people at Tottenham in 1348, one of them being his maidservant, Matilda de Hallingbury.³ The only other evildoer presented at Tottenham at this time was Nicholas le Carpenter, late sergeant of John de Leighton in Tottenham, who by force abducted Juliana, wife of Roger de Byale, with goods and chattels belonging to Roger to the value of twenty marks. He was a common malefactor and threatener of his neighbourhood to the great terror of the people.⁴ Sheep were stolen at Broughton, Cransley and Clipston, and cattle at Twywell.⁵ House-breaking was frequent, and goods and chattels were stolen, including cloth, linen, wool, garments and money.⁶ The parson of the church of Potton was robbed in 1339 of wheat, barley, beans, peas and other goods and chattels to the value of forty marks by William, son of William de Hurle of Potton, John Wymond of Potton and John Lettice of Potton. The same William de Hurle and another assaulted Reginald Outlawe, parson of the church of Esthattelee at Potton and wounded him, and William was presented as a common assaulter and disturber of the peace.⁷

Evil-doers who were caught before they could escape were committed to prison, and, if they could not obtain bail, remained there for months or years until the

¹ Ancient Indictments F. 90.

² *Ibid.* ³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, F. 58. ⁶ *Ibid.*, F. 90.

⁵ *Ibid.*, F. 1, m. 15. ⁷ *Ibid.*, m. 17.

itinerant justices held their sessions. Many died of want or disease before they were brought to trial, for prisoners were maintained at their own expense and the condition of the prisons was very unhealthy. Prisoners who survived to be brought up for trial were either fined or sentenced to death or mutilation in early times, but from the time of Edward I a sentence of imprisonment, in addition to a fine, might be passed. If an accused man refused to plead he was fastened to the ground and received one day bread to eat and the next brackish water to drink. In the majority of towns there was a king's prison, but lords often built private prisons or imprisoned people in their castles. This gave much opportunity for oppression and extortion (which was not by any means unknown in the king's prisons), as in the case of Peter de Nevill's prison of Allexton, where many men were wrongfully imprisoned and released upon payment of fines without ever having been brought up for trial.¹ A similar case of extortion occurred in 1342 at Conington, where Richard de Cornewaill was attacked by a large band of men, assaulted and imprisoned until he paid a fine of twenty pounds and a horse of his worth ten marks was killed.²

The police organization of the Middle Ages was not very efficient, and many malefactors escaped capture and fled. Their lands and goods were forfeited and they were outlawed. If an accused man who had fled afterwards surrendered he might be pardoned of his outlawry. Such a pardon was granted on June 20th, 1336, to Thomas Flory, who had been the Abbot of Sawtrey's bailiff and receiver in Great Paxton. He had failed to appear before the justices of the Bench to answer a plea of the abbot that he should render an account for the time that he had held office, and he had afterwards surrendered in the Flete prison.³ Pardons were sometimes granted to outlaws for other reasons, such as good service in time of war. On October 19th, 1298, Richard de Beche, son of Richard de Beche of Witherington, was pardoned of his outlawry for a

¹ See p. 21. ² *Cal. Pat.* 1340-3, pp. 550-1. ³ *Ibid.*, 1334-8, p. 276.

robbery at Hemmingford, Huntingdon, and for the death of Ralph, vicar of Hemmingford, because of his service in Scotland;¹ and on June 14th, 1358, a pardon for good service done in Gascony in the company of Edward, Prince of Wales, was granted to William Cook of Buckworth, who had failed to appear to answer the king's suit against him for having stolen four oxen of the Abbot of Sawtrey in the abbot's wood of Sawtrey.² The lands of a man convicted of a felony or outlawed were handed over to the king for a year and a day and then delivered to the overlord as an escheat. On July 23rd, 1366, the sheriff of Northampton was ordered to cause Thomas Fitz Walter, lord of Daventry, to have seizin of a cottage with appurtenants in Daventry which had been held by Thomas de Thurmaston, outlawed for felony, and had been in the king's hand for a year and a day.³

But another chance of escaping the extreme penalty of the law was given to a man if he could reach a church before he was caught. There he might claim sanctuary and remain for forty days. Meanwhile the building was carefully watched to prevent his escape, and if it were effected the township was amerced. At the end of the period the accused man might either give himself up for trial or confess his guilt in the presence of the coroner and abjure the realm. In the latter event a port of embarkation was assigned to him to which he had to proceed along the highway. The time he was to take was also fixed. No one might molest him so long as he kept to the highway, but if he attempted to escape he might be killed. His property, if he had any, was delivered over to the township. The privilege of sanctuary was taken advantage of by Geoffrey, son of William, son of Henry of Conington, in 1292-3. He killed Henry Athelward of the same place and immediately fled to the church of Conington. He remained there till the Sunday following, when he abjured the realm

¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1292-1301, p. 367.

² *Ibid.*, 1358-61, p. 54.

³ *Cal. Close*, 1364-8, p. 235.

before Adam de Gerbard, the coroner. His lands in Conington were delivered to the township of Conington, and his lands in Sawtrey to the township of Sawtrey.¹

Minor offences such as encroachments, the blocking of roads, the breaking of the assize of bread and ale, the use of false weights and measures and the selling of bad goods were tried in the manor courts and punished by fines, stocks or pillory.²

From the position of Tyndale near the borders of Scotland, from its liability to be raided whenever any difference arose between the two countries, and also from the wild and rugged character of much of the land, one would expect to find a good deal of lawlessness there. In the roll of pleas held at Wark by the justices of Alexander III in 1279 there are many examples of murder, robbery and sudden death, and there were many deaths by drowning in the Tyne and its tributaries.³

The king of Scotland's prison was at Wark at this date, and in later years there was also a prison at Simonburn. There those who were accused of crime were detained until the date of the next assizes unless they succeeded in escaping from prison—a not uncommon occurrence. The keeper of the prison was held responsible for such escapes and had to make good the loss caused to the king. A prisoner called William de Corbrigg, detained for larceny, escaped from Wark prison some time near the year 1292. The keeper of the prison, Hughtred Purvoys, held a messuage and eight acres of land in Wark, and this property was taken into the king's hand by the bailiff until the king should be satisfied concerning the escape. Hughtred died before the land was restored. John Purvoys claimed to be his kinsman and heir, and on June 16th, 1292, the bailiff was ordered, if John appeared to him to be the heir, to deliver the land to him, at the same time taking security from him for what pertained to

¹ *Cal. Misc. Inq.*, 1668.

² See chapter IV.

³ *Arch. Inst. Proc.*, Newcastle, 1852, p. xlii *et seq.*

the king of the said escape.¹ Prison breakers, like those who escaped capture, were outlawed. John Forester of Newburgh escaped from the prison of Simonburn, where he was detained for a felony in 1359, but on June 6th, 1360, he was pardoned for that and for any consequent outlawry for his good service in France, whither he went in the company of the king's son, John, Earl of Richmond.² Those found guilty of crime at the assizes were punished by mutilation or death or, when the offences were slight, by fine. A felon was beheaded at Bellingham in 1279.³ In the same year the jurors presented that an unknown thief who had stolen four geese in the vill of Newbrough had been deprived of an ear by the decision of Hugh de Ferewithescheles, the coroner. In this instance the coroner appears to have exceeded his duty, for a trial was ordered on the case.⁴ A more lenient decision was arrived at in the case of Robert the miller of Bellingham, who took a boll of meal of the value of sevenpence of William de Bellingham's corn without leave. As the justices thought that he should not be mulcted in life and limb for so small an offence, they fined him a mark.⁵ Another official who failed in his duty to the lord of the liberty was John de Teket, who was found guilty of divers trespasses in office. He also took half a mark from Huctred of Linacres because he did not wish to feed the king of Scotland's hounds, and he was ordered to answer to the king for the money.⁶

At the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries there occurred a considerable number of robberies which involved the use of armed force under the leadership of, or at the instigation of, men of high position. About 1305 Anthony Bek, Bishop of Durham, who held the manor of Wark at the time, engaged some of the men of Tyndale in an enterprise against the prior of Durham in pursuance

¹ *Cal. Fine R.*, i, 312. ² *Cal. Pat.* 1358-61, p. 374.

³ *Proc. Arch. Instit.*, Newcastle, p. lv.

⁴ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, ii, 168, p. 54. ⁵ *Ibid.* ⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

of his famous quarrel with the prior. In that year the latter complained that the bishop and others, with certain men of Tyndale, had forcibly broken the gates of the priory, entered the buildings of the court, broken the doors and chests of the cloister and refectory, and taken and carried away the goods found. They were also accused of having dragged the prior from his stall and having imprisoned him for three days.¹ When the bishop himself was guilty of such violence it is not surprising that other men should resort to force in their disputes instead of appealing to the properly constituted authorities, which perhaps had little power in these districts, especially when either of the disputants was a man of power and standing. When such offences were brought before the justices they appear to have dealt with them leniently, sometimes allowing a private settlement to be made between the parties concerned. Such an arrangement took place in 1279 between John de Haweltone and Thomas de Thirlwall on the one hand and Thomas Fairbarne (or Fairman) on the other. Thomas Fairbarne accused the other two of having carried off from Wark thirty oxen, each worth ten shillings, eighteen cows, each worth half a mark, a bull worth half a mark, fifteen other avers, each worth five shillings, two hundred sheep, both wethers and ewes, each worth twelve pence, and of having imparked them at the said Sir John's manor of Sewingshields. He claimed damages of a hundred marks against John and twenty pounds against Thomas. A compromise was made by which John agreed to pay ten marks of silver and Thomas five to the plaintiff by fixed proportions at the succeeding terms of Purification, Easter and Pentecost.² In 1276 much damage was done in the county of Northumberland to John Comyn by a band of robbers headed by Thomas de Whitewelle and Thomas de Carlisle of Newcastle-on-Tyne. Their chief crime was the robbery of wheat,

¹ *Reg. Pal. Dun.* (Rolls), iv, 24, 27.

² *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, ii, 168, p. 53.

wines and other victuals, both at Tyndale and in a vessel within the port of Newcastle to the value of two hundred pounds. The matter was brought before the English king,¹ as part of the offence had been committed outside the king of Scotland's liberty.

Cattle driving was, perhaps, the commonest offence, and was no doubt committed in Tyndale by men from other districts in the border counties or from Scotland, as well as by the men of Tyndale itself. This may have been the case in 1312, when a commission was appointed to inquire touching the persons who by night broke the king's park of Wark in Tyndale and drove away the horses, colts, cows, bulls and draft-cattle which were agisted in the park by Ivo de Aldeburgh.² The district continued in a disturbed state throughout the fourteenth century, and in 1342-3 the people of Northumberland and Cumberland complained of disturbers of the peace feigning to be Scots coming daily into these counties as well as within Queen Philippa's liberty of Tyndale, and it was directed that those who were indicted of such felonies should be taken and dealt with according to the law and customs of England.³ There was obviously little security for life and property within the district. Even in time of peace there was a danger of raids by bands of armed robbers from over the border, and no doubt within Tyndale itself there were numerous bands of outlaws. An incident which happened about 1371 affords an illustration of the danger in which the inhabitants lived owing to the propinquity of the Scots and the possibility of their acting in collusion with the more lawless inhabitants. John Adam and Thomas Robbersons were murdered at Faustane, and Robert del Spence was captured at Charleton and delivered over to the Scots, who kept him in Scotland till he ransomed himself. In that year an enquiry was ordered into the affair and a warrant was issued to imprison any accused persons in the prison of Wark till tried.⁴ The

¹ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, ii, 77. ² *Cal. of Pat.* 1307-13, p. 470.

³ *Cal. Pat.* 1343-5, p. 67. ⁴ *Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland*, iv, 180.

practice of capturing people and putting them to ransom appears to have been fairly common. Before Michaelmas, 1359, John de Stokhalgh, son of John de Newburgh, took John de Stokhalgh, Robert de Stokhalgh and Adam Leleplay and put them to ransom. He was indicted for this crime, but, in June of the following year, he was pardoned for his good service in the war with France in the company of the king's son, John, Earl of Richmond.¹

The greater number of the offences recorded against the men of the Cumberland villis were offences against the forest law. Some of them were minor offences, such as making waste in the forest. In 1285 each of the townships was accused of making waste and called upon to pay the damage.² The shepherds of Penrith and Salkeld were in the habit of burning the whins for the bettering of their pasture, taking of it estovers at their will and digging up the sods to the injury of the forest.³ Many individual inhabitants were also accused of the greater offence of hunting and killing the deer, especially the inhabitants of Sowerby, where the deer appear to have been particularly plentiful, and several of the woodwards who were specially appointed by the kings of Scotland to protect the English king's deer in the wood of Sowerby were themselves guilty. William Unselman and Ada his wife killed a hart-a-grease in 1271 in their garden at Crokegilbank and carried it to their own house at Sowerby.⁴ Several other poaching affairs took place in the same year in the wood of Sowerby, in one of which John de Werdhall, the woodward of Sowerby, took part to his own advantage, for he had half of the deer which had been taken at his house. At the time when the offence was presented, however, he was a fugitive because he had slain John the son of Hamund, one of the poachers concerned.⁵ In the following year Gilbert de Redesdale, woodward

¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1358-61, p. 374.

² *Cumb. and Westm. Antiq. and Arch. Soc., Trans.* N. S., x, 6-7.

³ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vii, 14.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 12.

of Sowerby, and Robert, son of Gilbert, son of Stephen de Seburgham, killed a great hart and two hinds, and because Gilbert was woodward at the time the wood of Sowerby was seized into the king's hands.¹ Many other such offences were committed in Sowerby about the same time and later. Several of the men of Penrith were accused in 1272. Thomas le Rous of Penrith, Alexander de Capella, Alan, son of Alan Capell, and John, son of Gosceline of Penrith, were in the land of Plumpton on Sunday before the feast of Saint Margaret in that year with bows and arrows and they shot a hart about vespers at Stonecross opposite "Mayden-castel," and another with two arrows at Ravensgill-foot.² Some of the men of Langwathby and Salkeld were also guilty of forest offences. In 1264-5 Ralph, son of Ralph of Langwathby, and three others gave chase to a hart found in the fields of Langwathby outside the forest. They followed him across the water of the Eden and within the forest with bows, arrows and dogs, and the dogs choked the hart. Then the foresters appeared and the poachers ran away, leaving one of the dogs behind. The flesh of the hart was sent to the hospital of St. Nicholas at Carlisle and the hide to the canons of the priory of Carlisle.³ On St. Vincent's day, 1276-7, a hart, outside the forest, crossed the Eden in the direction of the forest going through the middle of the town of Salkeld. A brown dog hunted him to the head of the town and he was driven back to the Eden. There he was killed by John, son of Nicholas le Sauser, and carried to the house of Eustace de Trewyk, parson of Salkeld.⁴ Thomas, son of Henry Pyrrok, the servant of Richard de Whiteby, parson of Salkeld Regis, took two greyhounds from his master's house on Easter day, 1282, and took a hind in the forest. As soon as the parson heard of it he dismissed him from his service, but as he retained the venison after dismissing him he had to pay forty shillings, and

¹ Cumb. and Westm. Antiq. and Arch. Soc., *Trans.* N. S., vii, 11.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

³ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 17.

William, his proctor, who was also guilty had to pay ten shillings.¹

The king of Scotland's prison, where suspected persons were imprisoned until they should be tried, was at Penrith. In 1316 William de Hellebek, who had been imprisoned on suspicion of theft, escaped and fled to the churchyard of the parish church, whence he was dragged to the prison of Carlisle. Bishop John of Halton demanded his immediate release, as he had been wrongfully taken out of a sanctuary.² About 1329 Hugh de Morvill, forester, and several others broke into the prison and rescued a suspected man, but they were all pardoned for the offence.³ Attempts to collect taxes in these parts were sometimes forcibly resisted. About 1383 William Strickland was appointed by the Bishop of Carlisle to collect the clerical subsidy in that diocese, but when he came to Penrith some men of that town opposed him and used such threats to him that he dared not attempt to collect it there. An enquiry into the matter was ordered on November 12th, 1383.⁴

¹ Cumb. and Westm. Antiq. and Arch. Soc., *Trans.* N. S., p. 29.

² *Register of John de Halton* (Cant. and York Soc.), ii, 117.

³ *Cal. Pat.* 1327-30, p. 402. ⁴ *Ibid.*, 1381-5, p. 356.

APPENDICES

I

FEEES HELD OF THE HONOUR OF HUNTINGDON

BEDFORDSHIRE.

FEE.	OVERLORDSHIP (13TH CENTURY).	REFERENCES.
Bedford, Rents in	—	Lawrie, <i>Early Scottish Charters</i> , 51. V. C. H. <i>Beds</i> , iii, 23.
Clifton	Bruce	Feet of F. Beds, 6 John No. 2, Cott. MS. Nero C., iii, f. 230.
Elstow, manor	— (Abbey of Elstow)	<i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 243. <i>Plac. de Quo War.</i> (Rec. Com.), 12, 35.
Felmersham,	Hastings Balliol	<i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 242, 251. <i>Hundred R.</i> (Rec. Com.), ii, 325.
Harrold, manor priory	Hastings	<i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 242, 251. <i>Hundred R.</i> (Rec. Com.), ii, 329.
Holme (Hamlet of Sutton)	Bruce	<i>Plac. de Quo War.</i> (Rec. Com.), 77.
Houghton Con- quest	—	<i>Ibid.</i> , 49.
Kempston (three manors)	Balliol, Bruce, Hastings	<i>Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland</i> , i, 279. <i>Feud. Aids</i> , i, 2.
Maulden	— (Abbey of Elstow)	<i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 243.
Potton	Balliol, Bruce, Hastings	<i>Feud. Aids</i> , i, 3, 4.
Sanday, Rent in	Hastings, Bruce	<i>Feud. Aids</i> , i, 19. Mins. Accts. (D. of L.), 2/4-10.
Stratton (Hamlet of Sutton)	Bruce	<i>Feud. Aids</i> , i, 4.
Sudbury	Bruce	<i>Cal. Close</i> , 1313-18, p. 255.
Sutton, manor	Bruce	<i>Feud. Aids</i> , i, 4.
Wilshampstead	— (Abbey of Elstow)	<i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 243.
Wotton	Balliol, Bruce, Hastings	<i>Feud. Aids</i> , i, 31, 36.
Wrestlingworth	Bruce	<i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 243. <i>Cal. Inq. P.M.</i> , Edw. III, vii, 689.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Brayfield next Lav- endon (apportion- ed to manor of Harrold, Beds)	Hastings	<i>Feud. Aids</i> , i, 105.
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FEE.	OVERLORDSHIP (13TH CENTURY).	REFERENCES.
Broughton	Hastings	<i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 244, 251.
Clifton Reynes	Hastings	<i>Feud. Aids</i> , i, 82.
Great Crawley	Hastings	<i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 244, 251.
Emberton	Hastings	<i>Feud. Aids</i> , i, 82.
Lavendon	Balliol	<i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 244.
Petsoe	Balliol, Hastings	<i>Ibid.</i> , 244, 251.
Weston Underwood	Balliol	<i>Ibid.</i> , 244, 252.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

Boxworth	Bruce	<i>Hundred R.</i> (Rec. Com.), ii, 479.
Bourne (one-fourth knight's fee)	—	<i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 354.
Cambridge (a half knight's fee, rent and watermill)	Bruce	<i>Ibid.</i> , 354. <i>Hundred R.</i> (Rec. Com.), ii, 391.
Great Childerley	Balliol	<i>Ibid.</i> , ii, 408. <i>Feud. Aids</i> , i, 138.
Fulbourn (a half knight's fee)	Bruce	<i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 356.
Oakington, manor Over	Bruce, Balliol	<i>Hundred R.</i> (Rec. Com.), ii, 449.
	Bruce	<i>Ibid.</i> , ii, 478. <i>Cal. Inq. P.M.</i> , Edw. II, v, 548.

HUNTINGDONSHIRE.

Abbotsley (Scots manor)	Balliol	<i>Hundred R.</i> (Rec. Com.), ii, 672.
Barford (Hamlet) (now in Beds)	Bruce	<i>Ibid.</i> , i, 198 ; ii, 670.
Beachampstead	Bruce	<i>Ibid.</i> , ii, 667.
Bouton (Hamlet)	Bruce	<i>Ibid.</i> , i, 198 ; ii, 686. <i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 354.
Caldecote, manor	Bruce	<i>Ibid.</i> , 354. <i>Hundred R.</i> (Rec. Com.), ii, 636.
Caldecote (Hamlet)	Bruce	<i>Ibid.</i> , ii, 670.
Catworth	Bruce	<i>Ibid.</i> , ii.
Conington, manor	Bruce	<i>Ibid.</i> , ii, 652. <i>Cal. Close</i> , 1346-9, pp. 32-3.
Diddington, manor	Hastings	<i>Hundred R.</i> (Rec. Com.), ii, 685.
" Doure " (unidentified)	—	<i>Ibid.</i> , i, 198.
Eynesbury, manor	Balliol	<i>Ibid.</i> , ii, 669.
Hardwick in Eynesbury parish	Bruce	<i>Ibid.</i> , ii, 669.
Hemmingford Abbots	Bruce	<i>Cal. Pat.</i> 1327-30, p. 232.
Huntingdon (Rent, mill)	Bruce, Balliol	Lawrie, <i>Early Scottish Charters</i> , 87. <i>Cal. Docts. rel. to Scotland</i> , iii, 1195. <i>Cal. Close</i> , 1288-96, p. 176.
Molesworth	Bruce	<i>Hundred R.</i> (Rec. Com.), ii, 618.
Offord Darcy	Bruce	<i>Ibid.</i> , ii, 668.
Great Paxton	Balliol	<i>Ibid.</i> , ii, 686.
Little Paxton	Balliol, Bruce	<i>Ibid.</i> , ii, 672, 673.

FEE.	OVERLORDSHIP (13TH CENTURY).	REFERENCES.
Sawtre	(Abbey of Sawtre)	<i>Plac. de Quo War.</i> (Rec. Com.), 300.
Southoe Weston, two carucates of land in stert in Great Stukeley (with Baldwinho)	Balliol, H. st- ings	<i>Hundred R.</i> (Rec. Com.), ii, 598. <i>Cal. Inq. P.M.</i> , Edw. I, ii, 212. <i>Ibid.</i> , Edw. II, vi, 699.
Toseland	Bruce	<i>Hundred R.</i> (Rec. Com.), ii, 670, 671.

LEICESTERSHIRE.

Allextan	Hastings	<i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 92. <i>Cal. Inq. P.M.</i> , Edw. II, v, 412. V. C. H. <i>Leic.</i> , i, 347b.
Anstey (four and a half carucates)	—	
Ashby Folville, manor	Bruce	<i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 92, 97. <i>Cal. Inq. P.M.</i> , Edw. II, v, 190.
Great Bowden	Hastings	<i>Cal. Inq. P.M.</i> , (Rec. Com.) ii, 338.
Brooksby	—	V. C. H. <i>Leic.</i> , i, 348a. <i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 92.
Cosby	Hastings, Balliol	<i>Ibid.</i> , 92. <i>Feud. Aids</i> , iii, 101. <i>Hundred Rolls</i> (Rec. Com.), i, 239.
Evington	—	<i>Feud. Aids</i> , iii, 101. Mins. Accts., 1095/4.
Frisby (one vir- gate)	—	<i>Hundred R.</i> (Rec. Com.), i, 238.
Foxton	Balliol	<i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 92. <i>Cal. Inq. P.M.</i> , Edw. II, vi, 609.
Gaddesby	—	V. C. H. <i>Leic.</i> , i, 347a.
Gumley	Balliol	<i>Cal. Inq. P.M.</i> , Edw. II, vi, 82.
Loseby	Bruce	<i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 92. <i>Cal. Inq. P.M.</i> , Edw. II, v, 548.
Lubenham	—	Lawrie, <i>Early Scottish Charters</i> , 320-1.
Newbold Folville	Bruce	<i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 92, 97.
Oadby	Balliol	<i>Ibid.</i> , 92. <i>Hundred R.</i> (Rec. Com.) i, 239. <i>Feud. Aids</i> , iii, 101.
Owston	Hastings (Ow- ston Abbey)	V. C. H. <i>Leic.</i> , i, 345b. <i>Cal. Inq. P.M.</i> , Edw. II, v, 412.
Rearsby	—	<i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 92.
Saxby, manor	Bruce	<i>Ibid.</i> , 92. <i>Cal. Inq. P.M.</i> , Edw. II, v, 548.
Scalford	—	V. C. H. <i>Leic.</i> , i, 353a. Lawrie, <i>Early Scottish Charters</i> , 58.
Sproxtan	Bruce	<i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 97. <i>Cal. Inq. P.M.</i> , Edw. II, v, 548.
Standeford (un- identified)	—	<i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 92.
Sysonby	Bruce	<i>Ibid.</i> , 92, 97.
Thorpe Parva	Bruce	<i>Feud. Aids</i> , iii, 101.
Welby	Bruce	<i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 97.
Great Wigston	—	<i>Feud. Aids</i> , iii, 101.
Willoughby	Balliol	<i>Ibid.</i> , iii, 101. <i>Hundred R.</i> (Rec. Com.), i, 239. <i>Testa de Nevill</i>
Waterless	—	(Rec. Com.), 92.
Wimundham	—	<i>Ibid.</i> , 92.

LINCOLNSHIRE

FEE.	OVERLORDSHIP (13TH CENTURY).	REFERENCES.
Basingham	Bruce	<i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 310. <i>Cal. Inq. P.M.</i> , Edw. II, v, 548.
Coleby	Bruce	<i>Ibid.</i> <i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 310, 325.
Grainthorpe	—	<i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 322.
Norton Disney	Bruce	<i>Ibid.</i> , 310. <i>Cal. Inq. P.M.</i> , Edw. II, v, 548.
Great Paunton } Little Paunton }	— —	{ <i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 310, 322. { <i>Feud. Aids</i> , iii, 211.
Partenay (half market held by Earl David, 1207-8, Stapleford	— — — Bruce	<i>Abbrev. Plac.</i> (Rec. Com.), 59.
		<i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 310, 326. <i>Feud. Aids</i> , iii, 211.
Swayfield	—	<i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 327.
Swainsthorpe	—	<i>Ibid.</i> , 326.
Twyford	—	<i>Ibid.</i> , 327.
North Witham	Hastings	<i>Ibid.</i> , 327. <i>Cal. Inq. P.M.</i> , Edw. II, v, 412.
South Witham	—	<i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 310. <i>Feud. Aids</i> , iii, 168, 211.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE,

Alecote (a third hide held by King David, unidentified)	—	V. C. H. <i>Northants</i> , i, 375b.
Castle Ashby, manor	Hastings	<i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 26. <i>Cal. Inq. P.M.</i> , Edw. II, v, 412.
Mears Ashby	—	V. C. H. <i>Northants</i> , i 382a. <i>Feud.</i> <i>Aids</i> , iv, 16.
Ashley	Balliol	V. C. H. <i>Northants</i> , i, 386b. <i>Testa</i> <i>de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 26.
Boughton	Hastings	<i>Feud. Aids</i> , iv, 15. <i>Cal. Inq. P.M.</i> Edw. II, v, 412.
Little Bowdon	Balliol	<i>Feud. Aids</i> , iv, 10. <i>Cal. Inq. P.M.</i> , Edw. III, vii, 623.
Bozeat, manor	Hastings	<i>Feud. Aids</i> , iv, 14. <i>Cal. Inq. P.M.</i> , Edw. II, v, 412.
Braybrook	Hastings, Balliol	<i>Feud. Aids</i> , iv, 10. <i>Cal. Inq. P.M.</i> Edw. II, vi, 612; Edw. III, vii, 623.
Brayfield, manor	Hastings	<i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 26. <i>Cal. Inq. P.M.</i> , Edw. II, v, 412.
Broughton	Bruce	<i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 24-5.
Clipston	Bruce	<i>Ibid.</i>
Cogenhoe	Hastings	<i>Ibid.</i> , 28. <i>Cal. Inq. P.M.</i> , Edw. I, ii, 400.
Cotes	Hastings	<i>Feud. Aids</i> , iv, 6. <i>Cal. Inq. P.M.</i> , Edw. II, v, 412.
Cransley	Hastings	<i>Plac. de Quo War.</i> (Rec. Com.), 532.
Daventry, manor	—	V. C. H. <i>Northants</i> , i, 371b. <i>Testa</i> <i>de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 37.
Denton	Hastings	<i>Feud. Aids</i> , iv, 6.
Draughton	Hastings	<i>Ibid.</i> , iv, 9. V. C. H. <i>Northants</i> , i, 385b.

FEE.	OVERLORDSHIP (13TH CENTURY).	REFERENCES.
Duddington	Hastings	<i>Feud. Aids</i> , iv, 16. <i>Cal. Inq. P.M.</i> Edw. II, v, 412.
Earl's Barton, manor	Hastings	<i>Cal. Inq. P.M.</i> , Hen. III, i, 304 ; Edw. II, v, 412.
Edgcott	Bruce	<i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 25.
Everdon	—	<i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 37.
East Farndon	Balliol, Bruce, Hastings	<i>Ibid.</i> , 25. <i>Feud. Aids</i> , iv, 10.
Fotheringhay, manor, castle	Balliol	<i>Cal. Inq. P.M.</i> , Edw. I, ii, 771.
Grendon	Hastings	<i>Ibid.</i> , Edw. II, v, 412. <i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 26.
Hackleton	Hastings	<i>Feud. Aids</i> , iv, 7. <i>Cal. Inq. P.M.</i> , Edw. II, v, 412.
Hannington	Hastings	<i>Ibid. Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 26.
Hardingstone	Hastings	<i>Ibid.</i>
Hardwick, manor	Hastings	<i>Ibid.</i>
Harringworth	Hastings	<i>Ibid.</i>
Great Harrowden	Bruce	<i>Ibid.</i> , 24.
Little Harrowden	Bruce	<i>Ibid.</i>
Holcot	Hastings	<i>Ibid.</i> , 26. <i>Cal. Inq. P.M.</i> , Edw. II, v, 412.
Horton	Hastings	<i>Feud. Aids</i> , iv, 7.
Hothorpe	Hastings	<i>Ibid.</i> , iv, 11. <i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 28. <i>Cal. Inq. P.M.</i> , Edw. II, vi, 612.
Great Houghton	Hastings	<i>Ibid.</i> , Edw. II, v, 412 ; vi, 612. <i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 28.
Little Houghton, manor	Hastings	<i>Ibid.</i> , 30. <i>Cal. Inq. P.M.</i> , Edw. II, v, 412 ; vi, 612.
Isham	—	V. C. H. <i>Northants</i> , i, 382b. <i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 28, 30.
Kelmarsh	—	V. C. H. <i>Northants</i> , i, 383b.
Lilford	Balliol	<i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 25. <i>Feud. Aids</i> , iv, 13. <i>Cal. Pat.</i> , 1385-9, p. 9.
Luffwick	Bruce	V. C. H. <i>Northants</i> , i, 365a. <i>Feud. Aids</i> , iv, 13.
Multon, manor	Hastings	<i>Ibid.</i> , iv, 16. <i>Cal. Inq. P.M.</i> , Edw. II, v, 412 ; vi, 612.
Newbold (ten vir- gates)	—	<i>Feud. Aids</i> , iv, 11.
Newton	Hastings	<i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 26. <i>Cal. Inq. P.M.</i> , Edw. II, v, 412 ; vi, 612.
Northampton (rent and mill)	Hastings	<i>Ibid.</i> , vi, 322.
Great Oakley	Balliol	<i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 26.
Great Oxendon	Bruce	<i>Ibid.</i> , 25.
Pidington	Hastings	<i>Ibid.</i> , 30. <i>Cal. Inq. P.M.</i> , Edw. II, v, 412.
Potterspury (held by King David)	—	V. C. H. <i>Northants</i> , i, 374b.
Preston Deanery, manor	Hastings	<i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 26. <i>Cal. Inq. P.M.</i> , Edw. II, vi, 612.
Puxley (held by King David)	—	V. C. H. <i>Northants</i> , i, 374b.

FEE.	OVERLORDSHIP (13TH CENTURY).	REFERENCES.
Quinton, manor	Hastings	<i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 26. <i>Cal. Inq. P.M.</i> , Edw. II, v, 412.
Rushton	Hastings	<i>Ibid. Feud. Aids</i> , iv, 9.
Scaldwell	Hastings	<i>Ibid.</i> , iv, 2. <i>Cal. Inq. P.M.</i> , Edw. II, v, 412. <i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 28.
Slipton	Hastings	<i>Ibid.</i> , 25.
Spratton	Balliol	<i>Ibid.</i> , 26. V. C. H. <i>Northants</i> , i, 381b.
Stutsbury	Hastings	<i>Feud. Aids</i> , iv, 4.
Thorpe	Balliol	<i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 26.
Twywell	Hastings	<i>Ibid.</i> , 25. V. C. H. <i>Northants</i> , i, 365a.
Waddenhoe (held by King David)	—	<i>Ibid.</i> , i, 366a.
Walgrave	Hastings	<i>Ibid.</i> , i, 380b. <i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 26.
Wellingborough	—	<i>Plac. de Quo War.</i> (Rec. Com.), 514.
Whiston (one great virgate held by King David)	—	V. C. H. <i>Northants</i> , i, 376a.
Wilby	Balliol	<i>Testa de Nevill</i> (Rec. Com.), 26.
Wollaston (one knight's fee)	Balliol	<i>Ibid.</i>
(one twentieth of a knight's fee)	Hastings	<i>Cal. Inq. P.M.</i> , Edw. II, vi, 612.
Wotton, manor	Hastings	<i>Ibid.</i> , v, 412.
Yardley, manor	Hastings	<i>Ibid.</i> , v, 412; vi, 612.

RUTLAND.

Bisbrook (half knight's fee)	Balliol	Lawrie, <i>Early Scottish Charters</i> , 320.
Exton, manor	Bruce	<i>Cal. Inq. P.M.</i> , Edw. II, v, 548; vi, 172.
Glaston, manor	Hastings	<i>Ibid.</i> , Edw. II, v, 412; vi, 719.
Horne, manor	Hastings	<i>Ibid.</i> , v, 412.
Market Overton, manor	Hastings	<i>Ibid.</i> , <i>Plac. de Quo. War.</i> (Rec. Com.), 672.
Ryhall, manor	—	<i>Cal. Inq. P.M.</i> , Edw. III, vii, 300.
Stratton	Hastings	<i>Cal. Inq. P.M.</i> , Edw. II, v, 412.
Syston	Hastings	<i>Ibid.</i>
Thistelton	Hastings	<i>Ibid.</i>
Tickencote, manor	Hastings	<i>Ibid.</i>
Whissendine, manor	Balliol, Bruce,	<i>Ibid.</i> , Edw. II, v, 548; vi, 605.
Whitewell	—	<i>Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland</i> , i, 294.

MIDDLESEX.

Tottenham (three manors)	Balliol, Bruce, Hastings	<i>Cal. Inq. P.M.</i> , Hen. III, i, 312.
Soke in the city of London	—	<i>Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland</i> , i, 2. <i>Hundred R.</i> (Rec. Com.), i, 432.

II

FEES HELD OF THE LIBERTY OF TYNDALE

MANOR.	TENANT.	REFERENCES.
Wark	Demesnes	
Grindon	"	
Adwoson of Simonburn	"	
Henshaw	Comyn	<i>Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland</i> , i, 2287.
Wallwick	"	
Thornton	"	
Stonecroft	"	
Tarset	"	<i>Ibid.</i> , iii, 963.
Charlton (held of Tarset by the Charlton family)	"	<i>Cal. Inq. P.M.</i> , Edw. I, iv, 166.
Espley- wood	Held of Tarset by " "	<i>Ibid.</i> , Edw. II, vi, 751.
Lus- burn	Swinburnes of East Swinburne	
Knaresdale	Prat	<i>Ibid.</i> , Edw. I, iii, 611.
Haughton	"	Hodgson, <i>Northumberland</i> , III, i, 2-4.
Huntland, shie- lings in	"	
Haughton Strother	Swinburne of West Swin- burn	<i>Ibid.</i> , III, ii, 23 ; i, 16-17.
Staworth		<i>Cal. of Docts. rel. to Scotland</i> , i, 2627.
Haughton	Swinburne of East Swin- burne	<i>Plac. de Quo War.</i> (Rec. Com.), 592. <i>Cal. Inq. P. M.</i> , Edw. II, vi, 751.
Humshaugh	"	
Simonburn (ac- quired in free marriage, 1291)	"	Hodgson, <i>Northumberland</i> , II, ii, 232, 250.
Shilington	Shilington	<i>Cal. Inq. P. M.</i> , Edw. II, vi, 751.
Alston	Vipont	<i>Plac. de Quo War.</i> (Rec. Com.), 197.
Kirkhaugh	"	<i>Ibid.</i>
Ellrington	"	<i>Ibid.</i>
Bellister	Ros of Wark- upon-Tweed	<i>Cal. Inq. P.M.</i> , Edw. II, v, 396.
Plenmellor	"	<i>Ibid.</i>
Haltwhistle	Ros of Yolton	<i>Cal. Chart. R.</i> , iii, 88.
Coanwood	"	Hodgson, <i>Northumberland</i> , II, iii, 116; III, ii, 33. Mins. Accts., 952/111.
Haddeston		Stevenson, <i>Docts.</i> , i, 54.
Hetherington		<i>Rolls of Parl.</i> (Rec. Com.), i, 293b.
Melkridge		<i>Ibid.</i>
Owston		<i>Ibid.</i>
Ridley		<i>Ibid.</i>
Sewingshields		<i>Cal. Inq. P.M.</i> , Edw. I, v, 631.
Thirlwall		<i>Rolls of Parl.</i> (Rec. Com.), i, 293b.
Thorngraston		<i>Ibid.</i>
Walltown		<i>Ibid.</i>
Whitfield		<i>Ibid.</i>

MANORIAL ECONOMY OF THE MANOR OF MARKET
OVERTON IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

Detailed information concerning the majority of the manors held of the honour in the second part of the fourteenth century is wanting. There exist, however, three accounts of the manor of Market Overton, Rutland, dated 1344-5, 1361-2 and 1369-70.¹ The conditions described in these are fairly typical of the period, and similar conditions probably obtained in most of the other manors held of the honour.

The buildings were of the usual description—a hall with a chamber annexed, a corn grange, a hay grange (*grangia feni*), a stable, a cowshed, a sheepcot, a dovecot, a mill, a common bakehouse and a well. There was also a garden with an orchard. The hay grange was roofed, wattled and repaired in 1344-5, and in 1361-2 extensive repairs were necessary for all the buildings owing to the havoc wrought by a great wind storm which took place in that year. All the buildings, including the hall, had to be roofed, the walls of the sheepcot had to be mended and the mill and the well repaired. In 1369-70 the corn grange, the hall and chamber and other buildings within the manor were roofed, and the grange was repaired and wattled. In the same year part of the wall of a stone grange containing thirty-two feet was repaired.

The manor was administered by the lord's servants appointed for that purpose. At the head of them all was the steward (*senescallus*). He was not resident in the manor, but visited it at intervals to hold the courts and superintend the administration. In 1344-5 his stipend was 4s. 10d. In 1361-2 he received 13d. for one allowance and besides two capons and three bushels of oats for two days and three nights which he spent at the manor at the end of February to hold the courts, superintend the condition of the manor, take a view of the account for the year and make an estimate of the corn. Another court was held in the same year by John Bale, clerk, who received an allowance of 18d. and a bushel of oats. Next to the steward was the bailiff. He returned the account of 1361-2, and his expenses in that year were 5s. The account of 1344-5 was rendered by the reeve. He went to Abington to do so, carrying a sum of money with him, and received for his expenses 2s. He carried the Christmas rent of £16 and the Easter rent of £20 to Bentley. The journey there and back occupied four days and the expenses on each occasion were 2s. The expenses of the reeve and another going to Milton and seeking the steward at Peterborough were 6d. In addition to his expenses the reeve had an allowance of 20s. in quittance of rent.

All the tenants' works except one autumn boonwork had been commuted for rent and the remainder of the work of the manor was done by hired servants or by outside workers at piecework. The servants were in 1344-5 one carter, four ploughmen, one warrener, one cowherd, one shepherd, one swineherd and one maid; in 1361-2 a messor, a carter, two holders of ploughs, two drivers, one shepherd, one swineherd and one maid. The greater part of the yearly work of the manor was done by the servants. In addition to the special work performed by each they assisted with building operations. In 1344-5 they served the man who roofed the grange. The maid also helped with this work for five days and received 1d. a day for her services. Her regular work was to prepare the servants' pottage and to look after the poultry. Half the corn was winnowed by the maid in 1344-5 and the whole in 1361-2. The servants also assisted at the autumn mowing and reaping, much of which was performed by the tenants as boonwork. In 1361-2 they mowed five and a half acres of meadow and reaped six acres of

¹ Mins. Accts. (P.R.O.), 964/11-3.

corn. In return for their work at the harvest they were entertained at a harvest supper¹ called "sikelgos" or "reggos," the expenses of which amounted to 1s. In 1344-5 the warrener superintended the autumn works of tenants and servants. The work performed by forty villeins at one hoonwork was the reaping and binding of twenty-six acres of corn. They were fed by the lord on bread, flesh, cheese and ale. At the same time twelve free tenants called "overmanni" sent their servants and had sufficient food and drink to the value of 2s. 6d. Threshing was usually done by hired labour and winnowing also (when it was not done by the maid), but in 1344-5 the servants threshed ten quarters of barley and twelve quarters of oats. In the same year 10d. was paid to ten women for washing and shearing the sheep, and in 1361-2 two hundred and seventy-five sheep were shorn for 2s. 10½d. and ale for the workers cost 6d. Reaping and binding a hundred and twenty acres of corn, hoeing corn, cutting eight acres of stubble, mowing forty-four acres of meadow and scattering, raising and heaping the meadow hay were also done by hired labour in 1361-2.

The expenses of the support and remuneration of the servants were, in 1344-5, 6d. for two bushels of salt bought for their pottage, 3s. for forage bought, and 12d. for two hundred faggots cut down for their pottage. They received 6½d. as oblations on All Saints' Day at Christmas, and at Easter, and had nineteen quarters, two bushels, three pecks of rye and the same amount of pulse among them. The carter, the four ploughmen, the shepherd, the cowherd and the maid had in addition thirty-four quarters, five and a half bushels of corn, each receiving a quarter of corn every twelve weeks. The warrener also received a quarter of corn every twelve weeks except for the four weeks in autumn during which he supervised the autumn work. For this he received 3s. 6d. in addition to his usual stipend. In 1361-2 the servants had one and a half bushels of salt for pottage at 12d. and 20d. in food and oblations at Christmas. In the same year and in 1369-70 the serjeant of the manor received 60s. 8d. or 14d. a week in pay and 13s. 4d. for his robe and shoes. The individual servants had also their separate stipends, as will be seen from the following table :

	Warrener	Ploughmen	Holders	Drivers	Carter
1344-5	8s. and 3s. 6d. for autumn supervision	5s.			5s.
1361-2			9s.	8s.	9s.
	Shepherd	Maid	Swineherd		Messor
1344-5	5s. 6d. because he is a stranger	4s. because she is a stranger	1s. 6d. for keep- ing twenty-five pigs		
1361-2	9s.	3s.	5s. for keeping thirty pigs		6s. 8d.
1361-2 1369-70	Serjeant 60s. 8d. in pay. 13s. 4d. in stipend for his robe and shoes.				
	"		"		"

¹ This harvest supper was a common custom, and was so named

Between 1344-5 and 1361-2 the increase of wages is very great. This is, no doubt, owing to the occurrence of the Black Death in 1349 and the consequent scarcity of labour. A similar increase is to be noticed in the rates paid for piecework, which are given below :

RATES PAID FOR THRESHING CORN—PER QUARTER.

	Wheat	Rye	Barley	Pulse	Oats	Peas	Drag
1344-5	2d.	2d.	1½d.	1½d.	1d.		
1361-2	3d.	3d.	2d.		1½d.	2d.	1½d.

Amongst other work paid for by piece we find the following rates— in 1344-5 reaping and binding a hundred and twenty acres at 3½d. an acre, winnowing the corn at 2d. for seven quarters, and cutting eight acres of stubble at 3d. an acre; in 1361-2 hoeing corn at 4s., preparing (calmare) eighteen acres of stubble (for thatching) for 9s., and mowing forty-four acres of meadow at 5d. an acre; 5s. was also paid for scattering, raising and heaping the meadow hay. Autumn expenses included, besides the food of the workers, 1s. for six pairs of gloves for the mowing, and 2d. for one pound of candles.

Hired labour was also employed for the repair of the buildings. In 1344-5 a carpenter was paid 2½d. a day for repairing the grange, and a mason corrected the defects of the walls for 11½d. In 1361-2 carpenters and a mason were paid 4d. a day, a tiler with a boy 5d. a day, and the boy who helped the mason 3d. a day. A man who wattled the sheepshed in the same year received 8d. In 1369-70 a tiler and a boy were paid 6d. a day, a carpenter received 20d. for wattling, and 20s. were paid to a mason who repaired part of the wall of a stone grange, containing thirty-two feet.¹

The manor of Market Overton was largely self-supporting, both in the way of stock and grain, only such articles being bought, as a rule, as could not be produced on the manor. In 1344-5, however, three quarters of wheat were bought for seed at 3s. a quarter, and twenty-five and a half quarters of draff² were bought for the pigs at 5d. a quarter. In 1361-2 one cow, eighty-three wethers and six calves were bought. The calves were purchased from the dairy-keeper who had the farm of the calves, the milk and the poultry. It was therefore necessary to buy

because geese formed the chief dish. In some manors the mowers received a sheep after the meadows had been mown and this was called the "medschep."

¹ These rates of pay may be compared with those obtaining at Sutton, Beds, in 1394-5, in which year a new chamber with a fireplace, a latrine and a porch was built at the eastern end of the hall of the manor and additions and repairs were made to the other buildings. The men engaged were carpenters, sawyers, masons (cimentarii), carters, tilers, and unskilled workmen who were employed to dig clay, temper it for use, cut down trees and underwood, dig stones for sand, make hedges and ditches, carry wood, wattle, prepare stubble (calmare stipulam), handle and moisten the straw for thatching, help load carts and act as servants to the skilled workers. With a few exceptions the skilled men received 4d. a day and the others 3d. Women were paid 2d. or 1½d. a day and were employed to gather and prepare stubble, handle heath and straw and moisten (madificare) straw. One mason and one carpenter were each paid 5d. a day. A carter with a cart generally received 10d. a day, but sometimes the carrying was done "de prece," that is as a precaria or boonwork [Mins. Accts. (D. of L.), 2/4].

² Alias drask, *i.e.*, grains.

from him milk to feed the lambs and chickens to be fattened into capons. Agricultural implements, utensils and such articles as salt, candles, gloves, tar and grease also had to be purchased.

The crops grown upon the demesne of Market Overton were in 1344-5 wheat, rye, barley, oats and pulse ; in 1361-2 wheat, rye, barley, oats, peas and drag. In 1344-5 the greater part of the rye, oats and pulse was used for home consumption, namely, rye and pulse for the food of the servants, and oats for the servants' pottage as well as for fodder for the horses, oxen and other beasts. Pulse was also used for the farm-horses, foals and weakly (debiles) beasts and for the pigs for lack of draff. Most of the wheat and barley was sold, only a small proportion being sown, and none was consumed on the manor.

GRAIN ACCOUNT, 1344-5. TABULAR STATEMENT.

Grain.	Sold.	Price per quarter.	Sold.	Price per quarter.	Sown.	Number of acres sown.	Amount sown on an acre.	Delivered to Servants.	Made into meal for servants' pottage.
	q. b. p.	£ s. d.	q. b. p.	£ s. d.	q. b. p.	Ac. Ro.	q. b. p.	q. b. p.	q. b. p.
Wheat ..	3 0 0	0 3 2	42 4 0	0 2 4	9 1 0	31 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 2 1		
Barley ..	10 0 0	0 2 3	55 2 0	0 2 1	11 4 0	22 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 4 0		
Rye ..	5 0 0	0 2 0			8 2 0	28 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 2 1	19 2 3	
Oats ..	6 0 0	0 1 8	7 3 0	0 1 6	21 3 0	42 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 4 0		2 2 0
Pulse ..	12 0 0	0 1 6	14 0 0	0 1 4	25 0 0	52 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 4 0	19 2 3	

FODDER.

	q. b.	
Oats ..	2 4	for cart-horses and farm-horses in time of winter sowing and of Lent.
	3 5	for fodder of ten oxen for twenty weeks from feast of the Innocents to Pentecost.
	0 4	for fodder of horses of William Wade, the steward, when he came to the manor.
Pulse ..	2 0	for pigs for lack of draft.
	1 1	for farm-horses, foals and weakly beasts.

The amount of pulse sown was a quarter less than it should have been because the seed was dry and "pisosum."

The grange account for 1361-2 is illegible in parts and, therefore, cannot be tabulated. In that year sixty-four quarters, seven and a half bushels of wheat and rye, sixty-seven quarters, four bushels of peas and barley and thirty-five quarters, four bushels of drag and oats were produced on the manor. Wheat and barley were sold at 4s. a quarter, oats at 3s. 6d. on account of its scarcity in that year, and drag at 3s.

Apples were sold in 1344-5, two quarters at 4d. a quarter and another at 8d. In 1361-2 there was no fruit in the garden. One acre and one rood of underwood was sold in 1361-2 at 5s. This sum was considered small, but in that year purchasers were hard to find on account of the pestilence. In 1369-70 an acre and a half were sold for 7s. 6d. The receipts from the sale of herbage and pasture and the letting of uncultivated land (*exitus manerii*) in 1344-5 were £3 7s. In 1361-2 they were only 9s. 8d., and in that year the herbage of five acres of meadow which usually brought in 6s. was not sold because it was mown "ad opus domine." In 1369-70 the cow-pasture was sold for 36s. because the manor was not stocked. In this year fifty-nine acres of land were let for vesture, twenty-four acres at 8d. an acre, twenty acres at 6d., ten acres at 5d. and five acres at 4½d., bringing in altogether 30s.; the herbage of the manor amounted to £3 2s. 8d. In 1361-2 there were ninety-one acres of hay, and the price of an acre was 2s. Five acres went in tithe and forty-one and a half for the sustenance of horses, cattle and sheep.

The following tables show the state of the live stock of the manor during the years 1344-5 and 1361-2. In 1369-70 the manor was not stocked and the pastures were farmed. In 1344-5 ten cows were farmed to the dairy-keeper for 40s., two two-year old cows and two heifers which calved under age were farmed at 8s. Ten hens were also farmed to the dairy-keeper for 3s. 4d. The sheep suffered greatly from the murrain in this year. No cattle were attacked by the disease, and of the pigs only two "porculi" died. In the year 1361-2 the murrain attacked the cattle also, and one cow died in February and a calf which had been bought from the dairymaid.

The fleeces of the sheep and lambs were sold in 1344-5 at 7½d. a fleece or 4s. 3d. a stone, and in 1361-2 at 8½d. a fleece or 4s. 9d. a stone. In 1344-5 a hundred and seventy-four fleeces, weighing 25 stones 2 lbs., were sold, and in 1361-2 two hundred and fifty-five and a half fleeces, weighing 1 sack 11 stones. A stone contained 14 lb. and a sack 26 stones. The woolfells and hides of the sheep which died of the murrain and the carcases of the cattle were also sold.

STOCK, 1344-5.

	Remaining at beginning of year.	Issue.	Young stock brought in.	Bought.	Added to old stock.	Sold.	Tithe.	Murrain.	Remaining at end of year.
Equi carectarii (cart-horses)	2								2
Afri (farm-horses)	4 (2 male)								4 (2 male)
Pullani (foals)	2	1				1 (at 17s. in Aug.)			3
Tauri (bulls)	1					2 14s. 6d.			0
Boves (oxen)	16		4 (from bovetti)			2 9s.			16
Vaccae (cows)	15		2 (from juvencae)		4 (to boves)	2 8s. 6d.			14
Bovetti (steers)	4				2 (to vaccae)	1 9s.			0
Juvencae (heifers)	2								0
Boviculi (yearling oxen)	4								4 juvenculi
Juvenculi (two-year-olds)	2								2 bovetti
Vituli superannati (calves)	6								3 boviculi & 3 juvenculae
Vituli of issue of 12 vaccae and 2 juvencae	14					5 at 1s. 2 at 8d.	1		6 vituli
Multones (wethers)	139		6 (from hogastri)	9		19 at 14d.		16 (8 before and 8 after shearing)	119

Oves matrices (ewes)	40	10 (from jerciae)	8 at 14d.	8 (4 before and 4 after shearing) 1 (before shearing) 1 (before shearing) 3 (2 before and 1 after shearing) 3 (before tithe) 3 (in time of tithe) 2 (before Aug. 1st.)	34
Hogastr (hoggets)	7	6 to mul- tones)		1 (before shearing)	0
Jerciae (gimmers)	11	10 (to oves matrices)		1 (before shearing)	0
Agni superannati	31			28 (11 hog- astri and 17 jerciae) 27 agni super- annati	
Agni de exitu	35 and no more because 2 sheep were sterile and 2 brought forth their lambs before the time of the lambing				
Sues (sows)	2				2
Porci (pigs)	16	21 (from porculi)	14 at 2s. 1d.		23
Porculi	21				0
Porcelli	25	21 (to porci)		3	20
Aucae (geese)	20 (3 maroles)		17 at 1½d.		23 (4 maroles)
Galli (cocks)	1				1
Gallinae (hens)	10		12 at 2d.		10
Capones	12	12 (made into capons)			12
Puteilli (chickens)	12				0
Columbelli (pigeons)	220		200 for 5s.		0

STOCK, 1361-2.

	Remaining at beginning of year.	Issue.	Youngstock brought in.	Bought.	Added to old stock.	Sold.	Tithe.	Murrain.	Remaining at end of year.
Equi Carectarii	3								4
Afri	3	1							12
Pullani	12								1
Boves	1			1 (before the calving for 10s.)				1 (in February)	21
Tauri	21								
Vaccae									
Bovetti (steers)	1		2 (boviculi) 2						2
Juvencae ^a	2		1 (vitulus)		2 (bovetti)				3
Boviculi	2		3 (vituli)		2				1
Juvencae (two-year-olds)	4			6 (at 5s. 6d.)	4 (boviculi & juvencae)			1	3
Vituli				83 (before shearing at 2s. each)					5
Hurtardi (rams)	6		28 (hogastri)			14 (for fear of murrain before shearing at 12d.)		12 (before Lent)	6
Multones	124							1 (after shearing)	198

Oves matricae	109			25 (for fear of murrain at 12d.)		35 (before lambing and shearing) 3 (after shearing) 23 (before shearing)	46
Hogastri and jerciae	28 hogastri	44 (agni super-annati)	28 (mul-tones)	44 (hogastri & jerciae)	3		21 (of which 7 are hogastri and 14 jerciae)
Agni super-annati	44						
Agni de exitu	42 (because 7 sheep were sterile)			1 (at 2s. 8d.)			27
Apri (boar)	3			16			2
Sues	2						2
Porci	16			5			16
Porculi	6	16 (porculi)	16 (porci)	24 (at 4d.)	3 (in reppos 1)		8
Porcelli	10	20 (porcelli)	20 (porculi)		3 (in reppos 1)	2	12
Aucae	5 (1 aucer)			22 (at 3d.)	(For expenses of the steward 2)		5 (1 aucer & 4 marollis)
Capones	24	24 made from pultelli	24 (made into capons)				24
Calli and gallinae Pultelli	13 (1 gallus)	24 (for making capons at 2d. each)					13 (1 gallus)

In 1344-5 the sum received from the farm of the dairy was 55s. 4d.—40s. for the farm of ten cows, 8s. for the farm of two two-year-old cows and two heifers which calved under age, 2s. 8d. for the milk of thirty-two ewes (for each 1d.) and 3s. 4d. for the farm of ten hens. In 1361-2 the sum of £4 14s. 6d. was received for the farm of the lactage and calving of twenty-one cows, and 12d. for the winter lactage of another cow which died in February.

The mill, the common bakehouse and the market were also farmed. In 1344-5 the farm of the mill was 55s. 4d., and in 1369-70 31s. The common bakehouse was farmed at 16s. in 1344-5 and 8s. in 1361-2 and 1369-70. The farm of the market was 100s. in 1344-5 and 26s. 8d. in 1361-2 and 1369-70. The cost of the mill was considerable owing to the price of millstones and the cost of their carriage. A new one was bought in 1361-2 and with the carriage from Oakham cost 10s. 6d. A hundred and fifty nails cost 6d. "Le ryne" and the spindle were put in their places and mended with iron bought for the purpose for 2s. 10d. There was also the pay of a carpenter for repairs. In 1369-70 a beam for the spindle was bought and put in its place for 9d. One sailyard (virga) bought and put in its place cost 3s. 8d.; 16d. was paid for "splentes" for repairing the sails, 2s. for twenty-four "bordes" for mending the walls, 4d. for nails and 6d. for iron to mend the spindle. Other expenses were connected with the care of the stock and the upkeep of the farm implements. In 1344-5 fifty-five gallons of milk were bought for the lambs for 2s. Tar was bought for the marking of the sheep for 2d. A pottle of tar was bought for the sheep for 3d. and a gallon for 8d. Grease was bought for 2d. and 6d. Two folds cost 2s. 2½d. In 1361-2 six gallons of tar were bought for 3s. and six gallons of "butir" for 3s., forty-eight "clays" of rods for the fold for 4s., sixty rods for repairs for 1s., and tar for marking for 3d. For the pigs twenty-five and a half quarters of draff were bought at 5d. a quarter in 1344-5. The expenditure on the ploughs was 13s. 9d. in 1344-5, and 34s. 10d. in 1361-2. In the former year no new ploughs were bought. The largest item of expenditure was the payment of 11s. to the smith for the ironwork of two ploughs and for the shoeing of two cart-horses and four farm-horses. 6d. was spent in repairing and shodding four ploughs, "side-ropes, temis and togwithies" cost 6d., a new harrow was bought for 3d., and a piece of iron for making the joints of the ploughs cost 6d. In 1361-2 the smith received 26s. 8d. for the ironwork of two ploughs, the shoeing of three cart-horses and four mares on their forefeet, and nine oxen, with the iron and steel found for the same. Two new ploughs were bought for the season of wheat and oats, and two new ploughs for the fallow season for 2s.; 6d. was paid for two ploughs taken for the season of wheat and oats, and 6d. for two ploughs taken for the fallow season. Two ploughshares were bought for 2s. 4d. Rods for the axles of the plough were bought for 10d.

The expenses for the carts were also much heavier in 1361-2 than in 1344-5. In the former year two collars were bought for the horses for 10d., half of a white skin for the harness for 9d., grease for the carts for 4d. and nails for 3d. Altogether 2s. 10d. was spent. In 1361-2 the expenditure amounted to 44s. 1½d.

Rods were bought for wattling the sheepfold in 1361-2 for 21d. In 1344-5 thirty faggots were bought for wattling the grange at 12d. Rods for wattling the grange in 1369-70, with the stipend of the carpenter, cost 20d., and eleven "cheverons" were bought to mend it in the same year for 3s. 3½d. In 1361-2 a shovel (vanga), a sieve and two forks with iron for the same were bought for 16d.; a winnowing fan and a berlep were bought for 20d., three wyndeles for 7½d. and two riddles for 10d. Two sacks, each capable of containing a quarter of corn, were bought in the same year for 3s. In 1344-5 a pair of hempen traces for

the lord, three halters, three reins and two attires for the legs of the horses were made for 4d.

A new bucket was bought for the well for 4d. and bound with iron for 8d. in 1361-2.

In 1394-5 the following prices were paid at Sutton for materials used for building and for utensils—5s. a thousand for tiles, 2d. a bushel for lime, 11d. for a hundred lathes, 5s. and 4s. 6d. for two purchases of straw. Nails, hinges and materials made of iron were paid for according to weight. The staples, hinges, "hortres" and one "drynell" bought for the small door at the end of the new room weighed thirty-eight pounds and cost 4s. 9d. or 1½d. per pound. The utensils bought for the stock were wooden vessels at 23d., one bowl, two sieves and one ladle at 7d., one brass pot at 9s. and a coffer bought at Stourbridge fair at 7s.

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CHAPTER I

THE HISTORY OF THE HONOURS AND LIBERTY

THE honour of Huntingdon came into the hands of the Scottish royal family through the marriage of David, brother of Alexander I, to Matilda, daughter of the Countess Judith, the Conqueror's niece, and Waltheof, Earl of Northumberland. Matilda had previously been the wife of Simon de St. Liz, Earl of Northampton, and during her lifetime David also held this earldom, which on her death in 1147 appears to have passed to Simon de St. Liz, her son by her first marriage.¹ This acquisition of territory in England made David the feudal vassal of the English king for these lands, but the marriage had further consequences which greatly influenced the relations between England and Scotland. David succeeded to his brother's throne in 1124, and, in spite of the fact that Matilda had descendants by her first marriage, he and his successors founded on this marriage their claim to the earldom of Northumberland, a claim which they urged whenever opportunity occurred, but especially when the English kings were in difficulties with their own subjects or with their foreign neighbours. David, however, always maintained friendly relations with Henry I, who had married his sister Matilda. In 1127 David, himself as an English baron, took the oath of allegiance to the Empress Matilda, now the heiress to the English throne.² On the accession of Stephen after Henry's death in 1135, the Scottish king invaded Northumberland on

¹ Anderson, *Scottish Annals from English Chronicles*, 156, 157.

² *Ibid.*, 162-3.

